Abridgment of the History of India



Librarian
Uttarpara Jaykrishna Public Library
Govt. of West Bengal

SERAMPORE PUBLIC LIBRARY 1859

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF INDIA

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.

EARLY HISTORICAL NOTICES.

Boundaries and divisions of India.

INDIA is bounded on the north and the east by the Himalaya mountains, on the west by the Indus, and on the south by the sea. Its length from Cashmere to Cape Comorin is 1900 miles; its breadth from Kurrachee in Sinde to Sudiya in Assam, 1500 miles. The superficial area is 1,287,000 miles, and the population under British and native rule is now estimated at 240,000,000. It is crossed from east to west by the Vindhya chain of mountains, at the base of which flows the Nerbudda. The country to the north of this river is generally designated Hindostan, and that to the south the Deccan. Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus on one side, and of the Ganges on the other, with the great sandy desert on the west, and an elevated tract now called Central India. The Deccan has on its northern boundary a chain of mountains running parallel with the Vindhya, to the south of which stretches a table-land of triangular form, terminating at Cape Comorin, with the western ghauts on the western coast, and the eastern ghauts, of minor altitude, on the opposite coast. Between the ghauts and the sea lies a narrow belt of land which runs round the whole peninsula.

India has no authentic historical records before the era of

the Mahomedans. The notices of the earliest period can only be gleaned from the two great epics, which were composed ten or twelve centuries after the events which they celebrate, and are so overlaid with the vagaries of an oriental imagination that it is difficult to extract a few grains of truth from a vast mass of fable. Between the era of the Muhabharut and the Ramayun and the arrival of the Musulmans, the rise and fall of dynasties is to be traced exclusively from coins and inscriptions, through the researches of antiquarians, whose conjectures differ so widely from each other that their theories cannot as yet be accepted with implicit confidence. The chronology of the Hindoos consists of astronomical periods, and the successive ages of the world are made to correspond with the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, and are divided into four periods. The first, or *sutyu* joog, is therefore, said to have extended to 1,728,000 years; the second, or *treta* joog, to 1,296,000; the third, or *dwapur* joog, to 864,000; and the fourth, or *kulee* joog, is predicted to last 432,000 years; of which 4500 have already expired. The periods of the first three joogs may therefore be dismissed as altogether imaginary, while the commencement of the fourth, or present age, corresponding, as it does to a certain extent, with the authenticated eras of other nations, is entitled to greater consideration.

Early history and chronology.

Of the original inhabitants of India there is not the faintest record. To distinguish them from their Aryan conquerors it is usual to designate them Turanians, who came from across the Indus. By Hindoo writers they are described as rakshusus, usoors, pisaches, hobgoblins and monsters, and it is therefore natural to suppose that they must have offered a stern resistance to the invaders. Some of them doubtless made their submission, and it is conjectured that they may have formed the basis of the soodra, or servile caste, which was probably recruited also from the issue of intercourse with the victors. But the great body of them retreated to the forests of the Sone, the Nerbudda, and the Mahanudee, and to the hills of Sirgooja and Chota Nagpore, and they are identified with the Bheels, the Meenas, the Coles, the Santals, the Gonds, and other tribes. In those inaccessible fastnesses they have continued to maintain their primitive barbarism of habits, their language, and their crude religious observances, with little change amidst the revolutions which have convulsed India for thirty centuries.

The aborigines, and the Aryan invasion.

At the present time they are supposed to number 12,000,000. The 'fair complexioned Aryans,' the ancestors of the present Hindoo communities, are believed to have emigrated in a remote age from some undefined region in Central Asia, from which other tribes swarmed westward, and spreading over Europe, laid the foundation of its present nationalities. The only notices we obtain of them are derived from the Vedus, the most ancient and sacred of the Hindoo writings, and more especially from the Rig Vedu, which, however, consists chiefly of the hymns and invocations which were traditionally handed down. From them we gather that the original Aryans crossed the Hindoo Coosh and the Indus in search of a settlement, bringing with them their own language, the Sanscrit, and settled in the Punjab, the cradle of Hindooism. They were devoted to pastoral and agricultural pursuits, worshipped Indra, the god of the firmament, as the sovereign of the gods, and inferior deities as the personification of the powers of nature. They do not appear to have had either idols or temples, and there was no distinction of castes.

The age of the Vedus was succeeded by what has been termed the heroic age, when the Aryans extended their conquests beyond the narrow limits of the Punjab, and, expanding to the south and the east, established kingdoms at Hustinapore, at Oude, and at Mithila, under two dynasties, which are distinguished as the solar and lunar races. It is to this period that the memorable events celebrated in the Muhabharut and the Ramayun belong. The Aryan conquerors were of the military caste of kshetriyus, and the brahmins served them as sacrificial priests. It has been conjectured that this age of conquest and progression was favourable to the growth of brahminism, and that to it belongs the large pantheon of gods which came into vogue, the institution of caste, and the introduction of animal sacrifices. The brahmins gradually advanced their pretensions to a divine origin, and to divine authority, and at length brought the kshetriyus under their yoke, and assumed not only supremacy over rajas and princes, like Pope Hildebrand, but represented even the deities of the Vedic Aryans as subordinate to them.

Rise of Brahminism.

Of the events of the heroic age, only two have been rescued from oblivion, in the immortal epics of the Muhabharut and the Ramayun. These are, the great war of the two branches of the lunar race, and the expedition of Ramu, a sovereign of the solar race to

The Muhabharut.

the Deccan and Ceylon. The scene of warfare in the Muhabharut lies in the neighbourhood of Delhi, while the kingdom of Ramu lay farther south, and it is natural to conclude that the one preceded the other in point of time.

P.C. 1400 The story of the Muhabharut runs thus: The city of Hustinapore, about sixty miles distant from Delhi, was governed by the king Pandoo, who in a hunting excursion wounded two deer with his arrows, on which they assumed their natural shape, and sprang up as a brahmin and his wife. The brahmin inflicted a curse on him, of which he died soon after, leaving five sons, who were designated the Pandoos. The blind brother of Pandoo, Dhriturastu, was then placed on the throne, and his wife gave birth to a progeny of sons, who are called the Kooroos. The cousins were educated together in the royal palace, but a feeling of jealousy arose between Yoodisteer, the eldest of the Pandoos, and Dooryudhun, the eldest of the Kooroos, which resulted in the banishment of the former to a city, usually identified with Allahabad. There the Kooroos still plotted the destruction of their relatives, and they were fain to escape to the jungle. At this period the raja of Punchalu, which cannot, however, be identified, allowed his daughter Drupudee to perform the *swuyumburu*, that is, to make choice of a husband for herself; and he proclaimed a great tournament, not differing greatly from the tournaments of the middle ages in Europe. A pole was fixed in the ground, on the top of which was placed a golden fish, and beneath it a revolving wheel, and it was proclaimed that whoever succeeded in directing the arrow through the wheel and piercing the eye of the fish, should win the queen of beauty. The plain was covered with the pavilions of noble and princely suitors and their splendid equipages and retinue; and, among them appeared the five Pandoos, in the humble guise of brahmins. One of them, Urjoon, with his bow of 'celestial virtue,' pierced the eye of the fish, and Drupudee threw the garland round his neck and led him away. Her father, however, considered himself disgraced by an ignoble alliance with a brahmin, but was overjoyed when he discovered that the victor was of the noble race of the kshetriyus. In accordance with the practice of polyandry which appears to have been prevalent at the time, she became the wife at once of the five brothers.

The Pandoos returned to Hustinapore in triumph, and the blind old king offered to divide his kingdom

between them and his own family, and they proceeded to the site of the present Delhi, and having overcome the aboriginal inhabitants erected the city of Indruprustha. They were successful in extending their territory and popular in governing it, and Yoodistheer, in the pride of his heart, determined to offer a royal sacrifice, as an assertion of his supremacy. Dooryudhun, the eldest son of the king, envious of the glory acquired by his cousin, invited him to a gambling match, the ruling passion and the vice of the kshetriyus. In an evil hour Yoodistheer accepted the challenge, and staked in succession, his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and his wife, and lost them all. The condition of the game was that the losing party should go into exile in the country for twelve years and for one year in the city. The Pandoos submitted to this injunction, and having wandered the prescribed period in the forest, visiting the hermitages of the holy sages, determined to demand the restoration of their share of the kingdom. Dooryudhun haughtily refused their request, and they resolved to assert their right by arms. The contest was one between cousins for the possession of a quantity of land, which, since their capitals lay within sixty miles of each, must have been of very limited extent, but the poet has given loose to his imagination, and princes from the remotest parts of India, from regions then unknown to the Aryans, are brought upon the field, and the number said to have been engaged exceeds in number all the present inhabitants of the globe; the chariots and elephants are reckoned by millions; the plain overflows with rivers of blood, and whole armies are destroyed by a single talismanic weapon. The battle doubtless formed one of the most memorable events of that early period of society, and it was preserved in tradition and commemorated in ballads, and, a thousand years after, elaborated into an epic poem of a hundred thousand couplets, by the illustrious Vyasu. The conflict, which is said to have raged for eighteen days, ended in the triumph of the Pandoos. Yoodistheer was installed raja at Hustinapore, and celebrated his victory by the proud sacrifice of the horse, the emblem of universal sovereignty. He and his brothers and their common wife eventually assumed the character of devotees, and disappeared in the Himalaya. The real hero of the Muhabharut was Krishnu, the son of a cowherd, who established his kingdom at Dwarka, on the western coast, married 16,000 wives, and was slain at the fountain of the

The battle of Kooroo Kshetru.

lotus by the irrepressible Bheels. He was deified after his death, and placed second in the Hindoo triad of the brahminical theogony, which was not completely organised till centuries after the events of the Muhabharut. The object of the epic was to identify him, when his worship was introduced, with those transactions which were among the most cherished recollections of the Aryan race, as an incarnation of the deity.

Between the events commemorated in the Muhabharut and the Ramayun the Aryans would appear to have burst the boundary of their original settlement and extended their conquests to the south and the east, and to have established two kingdoms, the one at Uyodhyu, or Oude, and the other at Mithila, both designated by way of distinction the solar race. The order of events in the Ramayun may be thus epitomized:—Ramu, the hero of the poem and an incarnation of the deity, was the eldest of the four sons of Dushuruthu, the king of Oude. Junuka, the sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom of Mithila, had a beautiful daughter, Seeta, whom he promised to bestow on the prince who could bend the bow with which the god Seeva had destroyed the other gods, and which was preserved as an heirloom in the royal armoury. Ramu broke the bow in the midst and won the princess. The marriage ceremony was performed by the raja himself, and not by the priests. Ramu returned to Oude, and was appointed heir apparent; but the raja's second wife, who had gained his affection by her beauty, was anxious to obtain the throne for her own son, Bharutu, and persuaded her uxorious husband to consent to the banishment of Ramu. On the morning fixed for his installation he was constrained to quit the royal palace with his wife and his brother Lukshmunu, and he proceeded into the forest, from hermitage to hermitage, and terminated his wanderings at Nassik on the Godavery, where he erected a hut. The sister of Ravunu, the king of Lunka, or Ceylon, called also Taprobane, or the island of Ravunu, passing by the bower, was struck with the beauty of Ramu, and endeavoured to prevail on him to desert Seeta, and marry her. Her offers were rejected with scorn, when she rushed upon Seeta and threatened to devour her, on which Lukshmunu, at the request of Ramu, cut off her ears and nose. She returned to Ceylon, and in revenge for the injury she had sustained, persuaded her brother to carry off the lovely Seeta. Ravunu, described as a monster with ten heads and twenty

The Ramayun.

B.C. 1200

arms, assumed the form of a mendicant and appeared before the hermitage, and having caused his brother to take the form of a deer, and decoy the two brothers after him, seized upon Seeta and carried her off through the air in his chariot to Ceylon. Ramu having discovered the place of her concealment, assembled an army of the wild inhabitants of the south, probably the aborigines, poetically described as bears and monkeys, under their sovereign Soogreevu, and his general Hunooman, subsequently deified as the great baboon, and proceeded to the island. He spanned the straits between it and the continent with a bridge, and after many severe conflicts recovered Seeta and slew Ravunu. But as she had resided in the palace of Ravuna she was required to submit to the ordeal of fire to testify her purity, and the poet affirms that after she had ascended the pile, the three hundred and thirty millions of gods assembled in the heavens to behold the scene, and the god of fire arose from the flames, and bearing Seeta on his knees presented her to her husband. They returned in triumph to Oude, and Ramu was installed raja. The epic is so intermingled at every turn with the grotesque fancies of mythology, and the agency is so constantly described as supernatural, that it is difficult to extract from it the germs of historical truth on which it was based. But it appears clear that it indicates the first expedition of the Aryans to the Deccan, that the southern division of it was still peopled with the aborigines, and that the island of Ceylon was the seat of a higher civilisation, probably wafted from Egypt. It led to no permanent conquest, as the army of monkeys and bears which aided Ramu, after accompanying him in triumph to his capital, returned to their forests, and we hear no more of them on the page of history till they had been transformed into orthodox Hindoos. It must not be forgotten that the poem was composed ten centuries after the events it celebrates, when brahminism was consolidated into a dominant system, which it was intended to support.

Next to the Vedus, the Code of Munoo is the most important of the Hindoo shasters. It embodies the ancient religious traditions, to which additions were made from century to century, and which were collected, as it is said, by Vyasu. It gives us the constitution of a Hindoo commonwealth when the brahmins had completely superseded the ancient authority of the kshetriyus

B.C. 900 Munoo.

and established religious despotism in the state such as no priesthood has ever enjoyed. The ancient and simple worship of the Vedus was supplanted by an elaborate system of ceremonies and by animal sacrifices. Ramu, Krishnu, and other gods, who subsequently became popular, are not mentioned with reverence or with disapprobation. There is no intimation of regular orders, or of the immolation of widows. Brahmins eat beef and flesh of all kinds, and intermarry with women of inferior castes, and various other practices are permitted which would at the present day entail excommunication. The style is less rugged than that of the Vedus, but not so polished as that of the epics; and the date of its compilation is generally fixed at 900 B.C.

SECTION II.

FROM THE AGE OF BOODDHU TO THE MAHOMEDAN INVASION.

THE next event of importance in the ancient history of India is the appearance of Booddhu, or Sakhya Moonee, as the great reformer of religion and morals. He was born of a princely Aryan family of kshetriyu parents in the year 598 B.C. He resided with his own family till his twenty-eighth year, when, disgusted with the decay of religion and the spread of superstition, he retired from society and passed many years in constructing his system of religion and philosophy. He repudiated the entire system of caste, and thus rendered his doctrines acceptable to those who had suffered from it, while it made the brahmins his irreconcilable enemies. He rejected the whole pantheon of the Hindoos, and endeavoured to bring back his countrymen to the simplicity of the Vedus. The priesthood, instead of being an hereditary caste, was recruited from the various ranks of society, and bound by a vow of celibacy, and required to relinquish the pleasures of sense. He obtained many disciples before his death, which is fixed at 543 B.C., but it was not till two centuries later that booddhism became the religion of the state. The preservation and worship of relics was one of the distinguishing features of his creed. Eight cities are said to have contended for his remains, and the dispute was at length settled by distributing them in various provinces.

Booddhu.

The most sacred of these relics was the tooth, which was at length assigned to Orissa, and magnificently enshrined on the spot where subsequently arose the Hindoo temple of Jugernath, and it remained there, with some interruptions, for nearly a thousand years.

The first authentic record we possess of any invasion of India is that of Darius, king of Persia, who was seated on the throne 521 B.C., and extended his conquests from the Grecian Sea to the Indus. Upon a report of the wealth of the country from his admiral, Scylax, who constructed a fleet on the higher portion of that river and sailed down to the sea, he despatched an expedition to India and annexed several of its provinces to his great empire. The extent of his conquests it is impossible to trace, but his Indian possessions must have been of no small magnitude since they were considered more valuable than any other satrapy, and are said to have furnished one-third of the revenues of the empire, and were paid in gold. B.C. 521 Invasion of Darius.

Two centuries after, Alexander the Great, the greatest military and political genius of antiquity, if not of any age, subverted the Persian empire, and sweeping through its provinces in Central Asia, took possession of Afghanistan. He advanced through its terrific defiles, and encountered the same stern resistance from its wild highlanders which, for more than twenty centuries they have opposed to every intruder. He crossed the Indus, as generally supposed, at Attock, and entered the Punjab, where he received the submission of one of its princes, and was hospitably entertained by another. But Porus, whose dominions stretched eastward to the Jhelum, offered a more determined resistance to his arms than he had experienced since he left Macedonia; and, by a singular coincidence, it was in the same region that the English, twenty-two centuries later, met with a more formidable opposition than they had encountered throughout the conquest of India for a century. The chivalry of Porus fought with the same gallantry as the troops of the Khalsa, but they could not withstand the veterans of Alexander, and, after an engagement as obstinate as Ferozeshuhur or Sobraon, that high-minded prince gracefully submitted to the superiority of his conqueror, and was treated by him with his habitual generosity. Alexander now heard of the great Gangetic kingdom of Mugudu, the king of which, it was reported, could bring 30,000 cavalry, and 600,000 infantry, and 9,000 elephants Invasion of Alexander the Great. 327

into the field, and he became impatient to plant his ensigns on the battlements of its splendid capital, Palibothra. But on reaching the banks of the Beyas, his troops, worn out with the fatigues and wounds of eight campaigns, refused to advance any farther. He employed menace and flattery, by turns, but nothing could shake their resolution, and he was obliged to make that river the term of his conquests. He caused a flotilla to be constructed on the Indus, and transported his army down to the sea-coast, not, however, without serious opposition from the Malli, the inhabitants of Mooltan. He had fully resolved to return to India with a body of fresh troops, but he died of fever caught in the marshes of Babylon at the early age of thirty-two. His name does not appear in any Hindoo record, which only shows their imperfect character, but it is a household word in Central Asia, and his fame was widely diffused through India by the Mahomedans, among whom he is esteemed one of the first of heroes, and it was carried far and wide with the stream of their conquests, and the distant islander of Sumatra and Java may be found extolling the exploits of the mighty Secunder.

B.C. 324

The most important kingdom at this period in Hindostan was that of Mugudu, designated by the Greek historians that of the Prasii, the capital of which was Palibothra, supposed to be the modern Patna. It was probably founded about the sixth century before our era, by a colony of Tartars, or Scythians, denominated the Takshuk or Nagas; the serpent dynasty, so called from the worship of snakes which they introduced, and which has never been eradicated. About the time of the Macedonian invasion, the throne was occupied by Nundu. He was assassinated by his minister, Chundra-gooptu—called by the Greek historians, Sandracottus—a man of ignoble birth but of extraordinary genius, who had measured swords with Alexander the Great under Porus, and who now seized the throne and established the Mauryan dynasty. The empire of Alexander after his death was partitioned among his marshals, and the province of Babylon, in which was included his eastern possessions, fell to the lot of Seleucus, one of the ablest and most enterprising of them. He determined to carry out the ambitious projects of his master, and advanced with a large army into the Gangetic provinces, where he was opposed by Chundra-gooptu with the whole strength of Mugudu. According to the Greek historians he was vic-

The kingdom of Mugudu.

325

torious, but it is difficult to reconcile this assertion with the fact recorded by themselves, that Seleucus concluded a treaty with him and ceded all his conquests east of the Indus for an annual tribute of fifty elephants. Megasthenes, an eminent philosopher, was appointed his representative at the court of Palibothra, and it is from the fragments of his writings which have come down to us that we gather any knowledge of the state of northern India at that period. It is said to have been divided into a hundred and twenty principalities. Chundra-gooptu was succeeded by his son Mitra-gooptu, a man of the same large and liberal views as his father, and it was under their enlightened administration that the country attained its highest prosperity. Highways were constructed from the capital to the Indus, in one direction, and in the other to Broach, then the great emporium on the western coast, with caravanseras at convenient intervals. Their dominion extended to the sea-coast at Ganjam on the west, around the bay to Aracan on the east. They gave especial encouragement to commerce, and their subjects embarked in maritime enterprises, crossed the bay of Bengal, and founded colonies in Java and the other islands of the Archipelago, into which they introduced the Hindoo religion and the Pali language, the classical variety of the Sanscrit. B.C. 300

Asoka, the grandson of Chundra-gooptu, who ascended the throne 260 B.C., stands forth as the most distinguished prince of this period, the glory of the Mauryan dynasty. His dominions extended from Orissa to the Indus, and included provinces both in the Deccan and in Afghanistan. The boundaries of this great kingdom were marked by stone columns, many of which are still extant. His edicts were engraved on the face of rocks, and on *lats*, or pillars, in various localities from the bay of Bengal to the Himalaya and Peshawur; and a permanent record has thus been preserved of the great events of his reign. He established courts of justice, and abolished the punishment of death. He promoted the progress of civilisation, and gave a new impulse to commerce. Breaking through the isolation of the brahminical system—which still continues after the lapse of more than twenty centuries to fetter the native mind—he established a friendly intercourse with Greece and Egypt, and it is to this connection that we trace the introduction of stone architecture and of sculpture into India, which was totally unknown before his time. Some of the temples were Asoka. 260

excavated in the rock, and others erected on the plain. Of these, the most magnificent is the shrine at Sanchi, commenced in 225 B.C. Asoka embraced the booddhist creed, and made it the religion of the state. A great booddhist synod was held soon after, and religious missions were despatched to Tibet, China, Cambodia, Siam and Ceylon, and the creed was extensively diffused beyond the limits of India. He died in 226 B.C., after a reign of thirty-seven years, and with him sank the grandeur of the dynasty, which has the peculiar merit of having produced three illustrious princes in succession. It was succeeded in 188 B.C. by the dynasty of the Sungas, which, though of limited duration, was distinguished by the erection of another series of booddhist temples and monasteries.

The establishment of booddhism as the religion of the state, deprived the brahminical hierarchy of their ascendancy. The Hindoo annalists assert that ignorance and infidelity had overspread the land; the sacred books were trampled under foot, and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood—of booddhists. The holy sages, dwelling on Mount Aboo, carried their complaints to the father of creation, who was floating on a hydra in the sea of curds. He commanded them to return to the sacred mount and recreate the race of the kshetriyus, whom their own champion Pooroosram had formerly annihilated. The fountain of fire was purified by water from the Ganges, and each of the four gods who accompanied them formed an image, and cast it into the fire, upon which there sprang up the four men who afterwards became the founders of Rajpoot greatness. They were sent forth to combat the monsters, who were slain in great numbers; but as they fell on the ground, fresh demons arose, when the gods stopped the renewal of the race by drinking up the blood. This allegory, independent of the flattery it is intended to convey to the royal houses of Rajpootana, evidently points to some political revolution, which checked the progress of booddhism and restored to a certain degree the power of the brahmins. But booddhism continued for more than ten centuries to divide the allegiance of princes and people at different eras and in different provinces, with the creed of Munoo, and from time to time we have notices of booddhist sovereigns who brought all the resources of the state to the support of their creed.

The Ugni Kools.

About the year 629 A.D., Huen-tsang, a Chinese booddhist,

travelled through the continent of India, in order to visit its various shrines. In his travels, which have been preserved in the Chinese language, he states that while he found the creed in a state of decay in some provinces, he found it flourishing and dominant in Cunouge, in Mugudu, in Malwa and in Surat. About the eighth century of our era, the booddhists appear to have been subjected to a more implacable proscription than they had experienced for many centuries by Shunkur Acharjyu, a brahmin reformer; and from that time they decayed rapidly, and they entirely disappear from India soon after the invasion of the Mahomedans, while they increased and multiplied in the Indo-Chinese nations and in China, and the creed is at the present time professed by a larger number than the votaries of Hindooism.

Prevalence of Booddhism.

About the year 56 B.C. the Andhra dynasty obtained possession of the throne of Mugudu, and flourished till 436 A.D. Their dominion extended into the Deccan, with Warungul for their capital, and Oojein as the great metropolis of their power in the north. The founder of the dynasty, Vikrum-aditya, was the most illustrious and powerful monarch of the age; his memory continues to be cherished with profound veneration, and the era he established is still current. He was a munificent patron of literature, and encouraged the resort of the learned to his court from all parts of India by princely donations. The classic writers of that Augustan age have exhausted the resources of flattery in his praise; indeed, the extravagance of their panegyrics has induced some Indian antiquarians to regard him as a myth. Some of the most exquisite productions in the Sanscrit language were compiled under his auspices. It was about this period, a century or so before the Christian era, that India appears to have attained its greatest literary eminence, and the highest stage of civilisation it has ever reached. At a time when the western colony from the cradle of the Aryan race, which is supposed to have migrated to Europe and formed the aborigines of Great Britain and Gaul, of Germany and Scandinavia, was sunk in barbarism, the eastern stream of colonists, in India, had cultivated the science of law, of grammar, of astronomy, and of algebra, and had dived into the subtleties of philosophy and metaphysics. They had made their classic language, the Sanscrit, the most perfect and refined medium for the communication of thought, and

The Andra dynasty. B.C. 57

Augustan age of Sanscrit literature.

enriched it with poetry, which has enchanted every succeeding generation. But with all this high cultivation, they neglected one of the most important branches of human knowledge, that of history. The Pooranus, of which the earliest is placed in 800 A.D., are the only treatises which pretend to anything like an historical character; but they furnish us with little beyond a barren record of royal races and rulers, none of which, however, can be implicitly depended upon. The most laborious researches of antiquarians have only resulted in deducing from half-defaced coins and servile inscriptions a chronological series of dynasties and princes, with here and there a fact, of little interest, and of no practical utility to the student of history. It is idle for him to fancy that he has gained much, if any, valuable knowledge when he has simply loaded his memory with an empty catalogue of genealogies. Yet the ten centuries preceding the arrival of the Mahomedans present little else, and a cursory glance at the date and locality of successive dynasties is all that the student can desire.

Neglect of history.

Eastward of the Andhra dominions lay the great kingdom of Bengal, containing the estuary of the Gangetic valley, with the ancient and magnificent city of Gour, or Lucknoutee for its capital. It was governed, first by the booddhist dynasty of Pal, and then by the Hindoo dynasty of Sen. While booddhism was the religion of the state, Hindooism fell into decay, and Adisoor, the founder of the Sen family, sent to Cunouge, the sanctuary of the Hindoo creed, for five sound and pure brahmins, who became the ancestors of the present brahminical communities of Bengal. They were accompanied by five attendants, from whom the kayusts, or writer caste, the second in dignity, are descended. The Sen dynasty was on the throne when the Mahomedans in 1192 A.D. conquered the country. Shortly before the Christian era Cashmere was invaded by a tribe of Tartars, which was displaced by a dynasty of Gundurvus. They were booddhists, and under a long succession of kings, contributed the most celebrated structures to the architecture of India. They appear to have enjoyed extensive dominion, as some of their grandest edifices were erected on the Kistna in the Deccan. They are said to have invaded Ceylon, but their succession cannot be traced beyond 622 A.D.

Ten centuries of annals—Bengal.

Cashmere: the Gundurvus.

In the first century before the Christian era, Nahapan

established the dynasty of the Shahs in Surat, on the western coast. They are supposed either to have been a Parthian tribe, who invaded India through Sinde, or Persians of the Sassanian race. They adopted the creed of Booddhu, and to the founder is attributed the excavation and the construction of the wonderful cave temple of Karlee between Bombay and Poona. They were conquered about 318 by the Bullabhis, who are likewise designated the Gooptus, and who would appear to have extended their power over a large portion of northern India. The second monarch of the line is said to have overrun Ceylon, but no traces of them are to be found after 525.

The Shahs of Surat.

During this period of ten centuries, northern India was parcelled out among various dynasties, of whom Mr. Elphinstone, in his valuable history, enumerates no fewer than eleven: Mugudu, Cunouge, Mithila, Benares, Delhi, Ajmere, Mewar, Jeypore, Jessulmere, Sinde and Cashmere. Of the princes of these kingdoms some claimed the dignity of *Muharaj-adheeraj*, or emperor of India; but however extensive may have been their conquests, it is much to be doubted whether any of them ever succeeded in 'bringing all India under one umbrella,' as the Moguls and the English have since done. Regal vanity doubtless induced some of them to assume the appellation of 'Lords Paramount' on their coins and inscriptions, but on examining the most accurate list of the claimants to that lofty title, that of Mr. Fergusson, we find that in the brief space of two hundred and forty-three years no fewer than ten monarchs arrogated it to themselves in Malwa, in Cunouge, in Surat, and even in the obscure state of Kulyan in the Deccan; and in some cases there is only a period of twenty years given for the acquisition of this universal sovereignty.

Various kingdoms of northern India.

The early history of the Deccan is involved in even greater obscurity than that of Hindostan. At the period of the expedition of Ramu the inhabitants in the lower Deccan are described as bears and monkeys; but at the extreme south of the peninsula, as he approached Ceylon, he entered the continental possessions of its king, Ravunu, and came in contact with a higher civilisation than that of the Aryans. At a subsequent period—some suppose nine or ten centuries before the Christian era—we find even the land of the bears and the monkeys peopled with a civilised race, which is commonly

The Deccan.

supposed to have entered India through Sinde and spread over the Deccan. To distinguish them from the Aryan colonists of Hindostan they are generally designated Dravidian, and their language, the Tamul, attained a high state of culture, and was enriched with a noble literature—and, that by some of the servile class—long before the Sanscrit, with which it has no affinity, had attained perfection. Surrounded on all sides, except the north, by the sea, a constant intercourse was maintained with Greece and Egypt, and this may have contributed to the early civilisation of the peninsula. The most ancient and authentic history of the Deccan records the existence of two dynasties, that of the Pandyas, which was first in point of time, and that of the Cholas, which was the most powerful. The capital of the Pandyas, after two removals, was fixed at Madura, and its dominion lay along the Malabar coast. The kingdom of the Cholas, which some identify with Coromandel, was founded by an emigrant from Hindostan who established his capital at Canchi, or Conjeveram, and eventually removed it to Tanjore. Of the history of Telingana, no reliable records are extant, but about the eleventh century the Bellal dynasty obtained paramount power in this division of the country. Another dynasty also rose to distinction in the north of the Deccan, denominated the Chalukyas, and their capital was eventually established at Kulyan, in the territory now belonging to the Nizam. In their inscriptions they claim to have brought under subjection the Cholas and Pandyas in the south, and the Andhras of Warungul in the north, and there is reason to believe that for some time they may have been without a rival in the Deccan. The dynasty subsisted till 1182 A.D., when it was subverted by the Jadows of Deoghur, the modern Dowlutabad. Of the Mahrattas on the western coast only two facts can be traced, the existence of Tagara, a great emporium in the time of the Romans, and of Salivahun, the king of some unknown province, who was a bitter persecutor of the booddhists, and who is remembered only by his era, which prevails throughout the Deccan. Of Orissa nothing is known before the introduction of booddhism, except that the country was a marsh, and the people 'barbarous and as black as crows.' The tooth of Booddhu, the most sacred of his relics, was, in the distribution of his remains, allotted to this kingdom, and his creed appears

Its superior literature.

Pandyas and Cholas.

Telingana and Chalukyas.

The Mahrattas and the Ooriyas.

to have predominated in it for ten centuries, during which the rocks were studded with shrines and monasteries. It was subjected to various invasions by sea and land, and on one occasion the precious tooth was conveyed for safety to Ceylon, of which it has ever since been, in one sense, the palladium. The Kesari dynasty superseded the booddhist monarchs in 473, and established the supremacy of Hin- A.D.
dooism, of which they were the ardent devotees. They en- 473
joyed power for more than six centuries, which seem to have been passed in little else but in building temples and founding religious communities. The country was covered with settlements of brahmins, of whom ten thousand were introduced from Cunouge. Bhoobaneshur became the ecclesiastical metropolis of Orissa, and was crowded with seven thousand temples, in honour of Seeva, less than a tenth of which remain, but they are sufficient to attest the zeal and the taste of that religious dynasty.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION OF MAHOMEDANISM—THE GHUZNI DYNASTY.

A.D. 569 MAHOMED was born at Mecca, in Arabia, A.D. 569, and at the age of forty announced himself as a prophet commissioned by the Almighty to convert the human race to the 'true faith' by the agency of the sword. He obtained many proselytes in his native land by his genius and eloquence, and, having raised an army of Arabs to subjugate the surrounding nations to his creed and his power, commenced that career of conquest which was pursued by his successors with unexampled vigour and rapidity. Province after province and kingdom after kingdom succumbed to them, and before the close of a century they had conquered Egypt, Syria, Northern Africa, and a part of Spain. Persia was prostrate before them, and they were advancing towards Cabul. A few years after the death of Mahomed, the Caliph Omar founded Bussora, at the estuary of the Tigris, and his generals were enabled to make descents upon Sinde and Beloochistan by sea. Under the Caliph Walid, between 705 and 715 A.D., that province was entirely subjugated, and the banner of the crescent was planted on the turrets of Mooltan. About the same period the Mahomedans advanced into Central Asia, and overran the country north of the Oxus. The general of the Caliph, Mahomed ben Cossim, likewise conquered the kingdom of Guzerat, and eventually advanced to Chittore, the capital of Rajpootana, when the gallant young Bappa placed himself at the head of the Rajpoot forces, and expelled the invader. On his return from the field he was raised to the throne, and founded the present royal family of Oodypore. The Rajpoot annals record that in the days of Khoman, the grandson of Bappa,

Rise of Mahomedan power.

705 to 715

711

Chittore was again invaded by Mahomed, the governor of Khorasan, when the other princes in the north hastened to his assistance; and a very patriotic description is given of the different tribes which composed the northern chivalry on this occasion. With their aid Khoman was enabled to defeat the invader, with whom he is said to have fought twenty-four battles. The Mahomedans were thus expelled from all the territory they had been endeavouring to acquire for a century and a half, and it was not till three centuries after their first invasion that they succeeded in making a permanent lodgment in India. A.D. 750

The opulent regions of Khorasan and Transoxania, which had been conquered by the Caliphs in the first century of the Hejira—the Mahomedan era, which dates from the flight of Mahomed from Mecca to Medina—continued under their government for about a hundred and eighty years; but after the death of the renowned Haroun-al-rashid, the contemporary and friend of Charlemagne, the central authority began to decay, and the governors of provinces to assume independence. Ismael Samani, a Tartar, seized upon Khorasan, Transoxania, and Afghanistan, in 872, and fixed his capital at Bokhara, where his dynasty—usually designated that of the Samanides—continued to reign for about a hundred and twenty years. The fifth prince in descent had a Turkish slave, Aluptugeen, a man of courage and good sense, who rose to be governor of Khorasan. On the death of his patron he was consulted about the choice of a successor, and having voted against the son of the deceased king—who was, however, raised to the throne by the other chiefs—he was deprived of his post and retreated with a band of trusty followers to Ghuzni, in the heart of the Soliman mountains, where he succeeded in establishing his independence. He had purchased a slave of the name of Subuktugeen in Tartary, in whom he discovered great powers of mind, and whom he raised to the highest offices. He stepped into the throne on the death of his sovereign, A.D. 976. The dynasty of Ghuzni. 872 976

The establishment of a powerful kingdom under a vigorous monarch in the vicinity of the Indus created no little alarm in the mind of Jeypal, the Hindoo sovereign of the Punjab, and he led a large army across the river, and attacked Subuktugeen at Lughman in the Cabul passes. On the eve of the engagement a violent storm of wind, rain, and thunder swept down the valley, which alarmed the superstitious soldiers of Jeypal to such Hindoos attack Subuktugeen

a degree that he was constrained to sue for an accommodation, which was not granted without the promise of a heavy payment; but on hearing that his opponent had been obliged to march to the westward to repel an invasion, he refused to fulfil his engagement, and imprisoned the king's messengers. Subuktugeen, having disposed of his enemies, marched down to the Indus to avenge this perfidy. Jeypal succeeded in enlisting the aid of the rajás of Delhi, Ajmere, Callinger, and Cunouge, and advanced across the Indus with an immense force, but was again defeated, and the authority of Ghuzni was established up to the banks of the Indus.

A.D. 997 Subuktugeen died in 997, and was succeeded at first by his son Ismael, and a few months after by his second son, the renowned Mahmood of Ghuzni. From his early youth he had accompanied his father on his various expeditions, and acquired a passion for war and great military experience. He ascended the throne at the age of thirty, and became impatient to enlarge his dominions, and contemplated with delight the glory of extending the triumphs of his creed in the untrodden plains of India. He began his crusade against the Hindoos in 1001, and conducted no fewer than twelve expeditions, of more or less importance, against them. He left Ghuzni in August. Jeypal crossed the Indus a third time, and in the neighbourhood of Peshawur was again defeated and captured. He was generously released, but resigned the throne to his son Anungpal, and sought death on a funeral pyre to which he had himself set fire. Passing over several minor expeditions, we come to the fourth, which was directed against Anungpal, who had instigated a revolt against Mahmood in Mooltan, in conjunction with six of the most powerful rajas of the north. The Hindoos again took the fatal resolution of crossing the Indus, and were a fourth time defeated with the loss of 20,000 men. The next expedition was a mere plundering excursion to Nagarcote, a place of peculiar sanctity, and so strongly fortified as to have been made the depository of the wealth of the neighbouring princes. The stronghold was easily captured, and despoiled—according to the Mahomedan historians—of 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 200 maunds of pure gold ingots, 2,000 maunds of unwrought silver, and twenty maunds of jewels. The sixth expedition was directed against Thanesur, one of the most ancient and wealthy shrines in India. Anungpal implored Mahmood to spare it, but he made the characteristic reply that the

Mahmood of Ghuzni. His expeditions.

1001

extermination of idolatry was his mission, and that his reward in paradise would be measured by his success in accomplishing it. All the costly images and shrines, the accumulation of centuries, together with 200,000 captives, were transported to Ghuzni, which began to wear the appearance of a Hindoo colony.

After several minor expeditions Mahmood determined to penetrate to the heart of Hindostan, and to plant his standard on the banks of the Ganges. With an army, it is said, of 20,000 foot and 100,000 horse, attracted chiefly from Central Asia by the love of adventure and the lure of plunder, he burst suddenly on the city of Cunouge, which had been for centuries the citadel of Hindooism. The descriptions given of the magnificence of the city and the splendour of the court, both by Hindoo and Mahomedan writers, stagger our belief, more especially when we consider the limited extent of the kingdom. The army of the state is said to have consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horsemen, and 500,000 infantry; yet the raja made his submission after a short and feeble resistance. Mahmood left it uninjured, and turned his footsteps to the great ecclesiastical city of Muttra, the birthplace and sanctuary of the deified hero Krishnu, filled with shrines, blazing with jewelry. For twenty days the city and the temples were given up to plunder, and the idols were melted down or demolished. Some of the temples were spared for their great solidity or their surpassing beauty. "Here are a thousand edifices," wrote the conqueror, "as firm as the creed of the faithful, most of them "of marble, besides innumerable temples. Such another "city could not be constructed under two centuries."

A.D. 1017 — Expedition to Cunouge and Muttra.

Passing over two expeditions of lesser moment, we come to the last and most celebrated, the capture of the shrine of Somnath, the most wealthy and the most renowned on the continent of India. At the period of an eclipse, it is said to have been resorted to by 200,000 pilgrims. The image was daily bathed with water brought from the Ganges, 1,000 miles distant. The establishment consisted of 2,000 brahmins, 300 barbers to shave the devotees, 200 musicians, and 300 courtezans. To reach the temple Mahmood had a painful march of 350 miles across the desert. The raja retreated to the fortified temple, and the defenders on the first attack withdrew to the inner sanctuary, and prostrated themselves before the idol to implore its help. The neighbouring chiefs hastened

1024 — Expedition to Somnath.

with large forces to the defence of the shrine, and Mahmood was so severely pressed by them that he, in his turn, prostrated himself on the ground to invoke divine assistance; and then, springing into the saddle, cheered on his troops to victory. After 5,000 Hindoos had fallen under their sabres, Mahmood entered the temple and was struck with astonishment at its grandeur. The lofty roof was supported by fifty-six columns, elaborately carved, and studded with jewels. The shrine was illuminated by a single lamp, suspended by a golden chain, the lustre of which was reflected from the numerous precious stones embossed in the walls. The image, five yards in height, one half of which was buried in the earth, faced the entrance, and Mahmood ordered it to be demolished, when the priests threw themselves at his feet and offered an immense ransom for it, but he replied that he had rather be known as the destroyer than the seller of idols. Then, lifting up his mace, he aimed a blow at it, and the figure, which was hollow, burst asunder, and poured a larger treasure at his feet than the brahmins had offered for its ransom. The wealth obtained on this occasion exceeded any he had acquired in his previous expeditions, and the mind is bewildered with the enumeration of the treasures and jewels which he carried back. The sandal-wood gates were sent as a trophy to his capital where they remained for eight centuries, till they were brought back in a triumphal procession to India by a Christian ruler.

He retired to Ghuzni after a toilsome and perilous march through the desert, and died in the sixtieth year of his age.

A.D. 1030 Death and character of Mahmood.

Two days before his death he caused the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before his eyes, and is said to have shed tears at the thought of leaving them. Mahmood was not only the greatest conqueror, but the grandest sovereign of the age. He extended his dominions from the sea of Aral to the Persian Gulf, and from the mountains of Kurdestan to the banks of the Sutlege, and the order which reigned through these vast territories gave abundant proof of his genius for civil administration. His court was the most magnificent in Asia, and few princes have ever surpassed him in the munificent encouragement of letters. He founded and richly endowed a university at his capital, which was adorned with a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to collect. His taste for architecture was developed after he had seen

the grand edifices of Cunouge and of Muttra, of Thanesur and Somnath, and his capital, which at the beginning of his reign was a collection of hovels, was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, aqueducts, and palaces.

The dynasty of Ghuzni may be said to have reigned, though it did not flourish, for a hundred and fifty-six years after the death of Mahmood, inasmuch as it was not dispossessed of its last territories before 1186. During this period, the attention of its princes was so incessantly distracted by the political and military movements of Central Asia, and more especially by the aggressions of the Seljuks, as to leave them little leisure for the affairs of India. It would be idle to encumber the attention of the reader with the revolutions beyond the Indus, which have no bearing upon the interests of India, or with the catalogue of the sovereigns engaged in them. The provinces of Lahore and Mooltan were permanently annexed to the throne of Ghuzni, though more than one effort was made by the Hindoo princes to drive the Mahomedans across the Indus.

Progress and close of the Ghuzni dynasty. A.D. 1186

SECTION II.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF GHUZNI TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TOGHLUK.

THE dynasty of Ghore, which succeeded that of Ghuzni, was founded by Eis-ood-deen, a native of Afghanistan, who entered the service of Musaood, the king of Ghuzni, and obtained the hand of his daughter together with the principality of Ghore. His son was married to Byram, the last sultan of Ghuzni, who put him to death on the occasion of some family quarrel. The brother of the deceased prince, Seif-ood-deen, took up arms to revenge his death, and Byram was obliged to fly, but he returned soon after with a larger force, and conquered his opponent, whom he butchered with studied ignominy. Alla-ood-deen, his brother, vowed a bitter revenge, and a battle was fought under the walls of Ghuzni, when Byram was defeated and fled to Lahore, but perished on the route. Alla-ood-deen then proceeded to wreak his vengeance on the city of Ghuzni, which had become the grandest in Asia, and gave it up for three,

Origin of the House of Ghore.

and, according to some authors, for seven days, to indiscriminate slaughter, flame, and devastation. The superb monuments of the kings of Ghuzni were levelled with the ground, and the palaces of the nobles sacked and demolished. This savage vengeance has fixed an indelible stigma on his memory, and he is branded by Mahomedan historians as 'the incendiary of the world.' He was succeeded in 1156 by an amiable and imbecile youth, who was murdered within a twelve-month, when Gheias-ood-deen was raised to the throne, and associated his brother Shahab-ood-deen, the renowned Mahomed Ghory, with him in the government, the most important functions of which were left in his hands. The harmony which subsisted between the two brothers for forty-five years, and the exemplary loyalty which Mahomed, though in possession of the real power of the state, continued to manifest towards his brother in an age of universal violence, deserve especial commemoration.

Gheias-ood-deen.

A.D. 1156

Mahomed Ghory was the real founder of Mahomedan power in India, and it may be serviceable to glance at the condition of the Hindoo thrones north of the Nerbudda on the eve of their extinction. The kingdom of Cunouge had passed under the authority of the Rathore tribe of Rajpoots. The kings of Benares who professed the booddhist creed had become extinct, and the principality had been divided between the rulers of Cunouge and Bengal. Bengal was independent under the dynasty of the Sens. Guzerat was governed by the Bhagilas, and the powerful kingdom of Ajmere by the Chohans. The last King of Delhi, Prithee raj, was of the Tomara tribe, and he had adopted his grandson, the raja of Ajmere, and bestowed his daughter on him. With the chief of Guzerat for his ally, the king of Cunouge was engaged in mortal conflict with the king of Delhi, with whom were associated the rajas of Chittore and Ajmere. The arrogant raja of Cunouge had, moreover, determined to celebrate the sacrifice of the horse, the emblem of universal sovereignty, and this vainglorious assumption was resented by half the powers of Hindostan, which was thus divided into two hostile camps, with its rulers engaged in deadly hostilities, when the Mahomedan invader was thundering at its gates. On the threshold of this great revolution we pause for a moment to notice the virtues of Bhoje-raj, the last of the great Hindoo sovereigns of India. He was of the ancient and

State of the Hindoo kingdoms.

Bhoje-raj.

time-honoured tribe of the Prumaras, who still continued to rule, but with diminished splendour, the kingdom of Oojein. Seated on the throne of Vikrum-aditya, he resolved to emulate him in the encouragement of literature. His memory is consecrated by the gratitude of posterity, and his reign has been immortalised by the genius of poetry.

Mahomed Ghory turned his attention to India with all the vigour of a young dynasty. In 1176 he took the province of Ooch, at the junction of the rivers of the Punjab and the Indus. Two years later he was defeated in his attempt on Guzerat. He subsequently overran Sinde, and took possession of the two provinces of Mooltan and the Punjab, which alone had remained to the house of Ghuzni, which thus became extinct. Having no longer any Mahomedan rival within the Indus, his entire force was brought to bear on the great Hindoo monarchies. At this period there was little trace of the invasion of Mahmood; the prosperity of the country was renewed, and it teemed with wealth and abounded in temples; but the year 1193 brought a tempest of desolation which completely overwhelmed the Hindoo power in the north. Prithee raj, the gallant but thoughtless king of Delhi, though he had wasted his strength in his struggle with the raja of Cunouge and his associates, was still able to bring a force of 200,000 horse into the field with a proportionate number of foot. The two armies joined battle at Tirauri, not far from Thanesur, the battle-field of Hindostan, when the king of Ghore was completely defeated, and was happy to escape with the wreck of his army across the Indus.

A.D. 1176 Mahomed Ghory. 1193

Having recruited his army with Turks, Tartars, and Afghans, he recrossed the Indus to wipe out his disgrace. The Hindoos met him on their old and, as they considered it, fortunate ground, with an augmented force of infantry and cavalry; 150 chiefs rallied round the standard of Delhi, and the king sent an arrogant message to Mahomed, granting him permission to retire without molestation. He replied, with apparent humility, that he was merely his brother's lieutenant, to whom he would refer their message, and the moderation of this reply was interpreted as a symptom of weakness. The Caggar flowed between the two armies, and Mahomed, after having in vain endeavoured to surprise the Hindoos by crossing it during the night, feigned a retreat, which drew the enemy in confusion after him, when he charged

Defeat of the Hindoos.

them with 12,000 chosen horse, and, as the historian relates, "this prodigious army, once shaken, like a great "building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The raja of Chittore fell, gallantly fighting at the head of his Rajpoot cavalry. The king of Delhi was taken prisoner, and butchered in cold blood. Mahomed then proceeded to Ajmere, where he stained his reputation by the massacre of several thousands of his captives. Mahomed returned to Ghuzni laden with plunder, leaving one of his slaves, Kootub-ood-deen, who had risen to eminence
A.D. by his talent, to continue his conquests. He captured
1193 Meerut and Coel, and eventually Delhi, which now became the seat of Mahomedan power in India. The kings of Cunouge and Guzerat, who had looked on with malicious delight while the Mahomedans smote down their Hindoo opponents, had no long respite themselves. Mahomed
1194 returned to India the next year with a powerful force, and defeated Joy-chunder, the Rathore raja of Cunouge, on the banks of the Jumna, and captured Benares, where he demolished a thousand temples. Upon this reverse, the whole tribe of Rathores emigrated in a body to Rajpootana, and established the kingdom of Marwar, and the ancient city of Cunouge, which had seen the days of Ramu sank to insignificance. Kootub-ood-deen lost no time in despatching one of his slaves, Bukhtyar Ghiljie, to conquer Behar, which offered no resistance. That officer then advanced to Bengal, which was under the rule of Lukshmunu Sen, eighty years of age, who usually held his court at Nuddea. He appears to have made no preparations for the defence of the country, and was surprised at a meal, and fled for refuge to Jugernath. It is particularly worthy of note, that while the heroic Rajpoots, the kings of Delhi and Cunouge, and other princes in the north-west, offered a noble resistance to the Mahomedans, Bengal fell, without the slightest effort for its independence. It remained under Mahomedan rule for five centuries and a half, till it was transferred to a European government by the issue of a single battle, which cost the conquerors only seventy men. Bukhtyar delivered up Nuddea to plunder, and then seized on Gour, the ancient capital. He subsequently invaded Bootan and Assam, but was gallantly repulsed by the highlanders, and died of chagrin on his return to Bengal.

Bengal and Behar.

During these transactions Mahomed marched against the king of Kharizm, the modern Khiva, and, though at

first victorious, experienced so crushing a defeat that it was with difficulty he made his way back to Ghuzni, the gates of which were shut against him by the governor. Revolts at the same time broke out in India on the news of his reverses. He succeeded eventually in restoring his authority, and was returning to his capital, when he was murdered on the banks of the Indus by a band of Gukkers, who stole unperceived into his tent and revenged the loss of a relative in the late war. He governed the kingdom forty-nine years, forty-five in conjunction with his brother, and four after his death. His military operations in India were on a larger scale, and their result was more permanent than those of Mahmood of Ghuznī. Mahmood attacked the most opulent towns and temples and carried their wealth to Ghuzni. It was a sudden tornado of spoliation, and when it had passed over, the sovereigns recovered their power, and the country resumed its prosperity. But Mahomed of Ghore in the course of ten years completely demolished the Hindoo power, and at the period of his death northern India, from the Himalaya to the Nerbudda, with the exception of Malwa, had come under a permanent Mahomedan government. The treasure left by Mahomed is stated at a sum which exceeds belief, more particularly the five maunds of jewels. He had no children, and his nephew was proclaimed throughout his dominions, and ruled them for six years. On his death there was a general scramble for power between the governors of the different provinces, and in 1215 Ghuzni was taken by the king of Kharizm, and the dynasty of Ghore disappears from the page of history.

A.D. 1203 Death of Mahomed. 1206 1215

Kootub-ood-deen, to whose management Mahomed had confided his Indian conquests, was invested with the full sovereignty of them by his successor, and assumed the insignia of royalty at Lahore in 1206, from which year the real foundation of Mahomedan power in India is usually dated.

The Slave dynasty. Kootub-ood-deen,

The dynasty which he founded is known in history as that of the slave kings. He made one expedition across the Indus and overcame Eldoze, another of the slaves of Mahomed, who had caused himself to be crowned at Ghazni, and claimed the submission of Kootub. Kootub himself was soon after defeated and returned to India, and from that time forward contented himself with the dominions he possessed there. To commemorate the capture of Delhi, he commenced the magnificent Kootub-

1206

Minar in that city, which was completed by his successor.
A.D. He died in 1210, after an independent reign of five years.
1210 While Central Asia was the scene of convulsion created by the ambition of its different rulers, and more especially by the violence of Mahomed the turbulent king
Jenghiz Khan.
1219 of Kharizm, its polity was entirely subverted by the memorable irruption of Jenghiz Khan. He was the petty chief of the Moguls, a tribe of nomadic Tartars, roaming with their flocks and herds on the north of the great wall of China. By the age of forty he had established his authority over all the tribes, and burst with resistless force on China, and, after sacking ninety cities, obliged the emperor to cede the provinces north of the Yellow River. With an army of 700,000 men he then poured down on the Mahomedan principalities of Central Asia, and defeated Mahomed of Kharizm, who is said to have left 160,000 dead on the field. From the Caspian sea to the banks of the Indus, the whole region for more than a thousand miles was laid waste with fire and sword. This tide of desolation which swept over the country was the greatest calamity which has ever befallen the family of man. Although Jenghiz Khan did not invade India, he gave a predominant influence to the Moguls, who, after the lapse of three centuries, were led across the Indus by Baber, and placed on the throne of India.

Kootub was succeeded by his son Aram, who was dethroned within a year, and Altumsh, his slave and son-in-law, was raised to supreme authority, which he
Transactions during the Slave dynasty.
1226 enjoyed for twenty-five years. He was occupied in reducing to subjection the few districts which still remained in the hands of the Hindoos, in
to
1236 curbing his subordinate governors, and consolidating the new empire. He reduced the strong fortresses of Rinthimbore in Rajpootana, of Gwalior, and of Mandoo. He captured Oojein, the venerable capital of Vikrum-adityu, and destroyed his magnificent temple of Muhakal, and sent the images to Delhi to be mutilated and placed as steps of his great mosque. He was succeeded by his son, who was deposed within six months for his vices, and his sister Rezia was raised to the throne. "She was," says the historian, "endowed with every princely virtue, and those
1236 "who scrutinised her actions most severely could find in her "no fault but that she was a woman." She managed the affairs of the empire with singular talent, revised the laws, appeared

daily on the throne in the habit of a Sultan, and gave audience to all comers. But an Abyssinian slave had gained her favour and was appointed to the command of the army; the nobility were aggrieved, insurrections broke out, and she took the field against the rebels, but was taken prisoner and put to death after a reign of three years and a half. The two succeeding reigns were without events, and occupied only six years, when Nazir-ood-deen, a grandson of Altumsh, mounted the throne. The reign of this quiet and studious monarch extended to twenty years. A.D. 1246
He was remarkable for the simplicity of his habits, his frugality, and continence, and for the royal Mahomedan virtue of transcribing the Koran. The merit of all the important events of his reign belongs to his great minister, Bulbun, the Turkish slave and son-in-law of Altumsh. Throughout this reign the provinces contiguous to the Indus were constantly subjected to the ravages of the Moguls whom Jenghiz Khan had established in Central Asia, and twenty-five of the princes whom they had expelled were hospitably entertained at the court of Delhi. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his minister, Bulbun, the greatest statesman in the annals of the slave dynasty. He was a prince of great energy and ability, but 1266
is represented by some historians as a monster of cruelty, by others as a model of perfection. During an insurrection in Merut he is said to have put 100,000 to death, and the rebellion in Bengal was punished with such extreme severity as to constrain the ministers of religion to interpose their influence to stay the savage execution of women and children. On the other hand, he set an example of the most rigid abstemiousness, and punished immorality with great rigour. His court was maintained on a scale of great magnificence, and adorned with the presence of men of literary genius, whom he attracted by his munificence; but he made it a rule to employ no Hindoos in the public service. His accomplished son, Prince Mahomed, the idol of the age, was sent to repel a renewed invasion of the Moguls. They were defeated, 1279
but the illustrious youth fell in the field, and with him perished the hopes of the dynasty. Bulbun was succeeded by one of his grandsons, who was speedily superseded by another, and on his falling a victim to his debaucheries, a struggle for power arose between the Tartar mercenaries and the Afghan Ghiljies. The Tartars were cut to pieces, and the dynasty, which began in 1205 with the slave

Kutub, terminated in 1288, within three years of the death of the slave Bulbun.

The victorious Ghiljie, Feroze, then in his seventieth year, mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Jellal-ood-deen. The dynasty, which lasted only thirty years, was rendered memorable by the extension of Mahomedan power over the Deccan. The reign of Jellal-ood-deen was marked, except in one instance, by an injudicious lenity, which relaxed the whole frame of government; the governors withheld their tribute, and the roads were infested with banditti. In the fifth year of his reign, his nephew, Alla-ood-deen, a man of great energy, violent ambition, and no scruples of conscience, projected a marauding expedition to the south. Avoiding all communication with his uncle, he swept down across the Nerbudda with a body of 8,000 chosen horse, and suddenly presented himself before the fortress of Dowlutabad. Neither the king nor any of the neighbouring Hindoo princes were prepared for resistance, and the town with all its treasures fell a prey to the invader. The audacity of this adventure struck terror into the chiefs on the line, and before they were prepared to encounter him he was enabled to return, on the twenty-fifth day, without any interruption. This expedition revealed the wealth and the weakness of the Deccan to the Mahomedans, and paved the way for its subjugation. The aged emperor, then in his seventy-seventh year, was delighted to find his nephew return in safety, laden with plunder and covered with glory. His ministers endeavoured to put him on his guard against the ambitious designs of his nephew, but the over-confident monarch was induced to cross the Ganges to welcome him, and at the first interview was treacherously assassinated by men placed in ambush in the tent.

A.D. 1288 Dynasty of the Ghiljies. 1294 1295

Alla-ood-deen hastened to Delhi, and put the two sons of his uncle to death and imprisoned their mother; but he endeavoured to efface the memory of these atrocities by the just exercise of the power he had so nefariously acquired, and by the exhibition of games and festivities; he was never able, however, to suppress his arbitrary temper, and his reign, though long and glorious, was always disturbed by conspiracies. He was ignorant of letters when he ascended the throne, but he applied successfully to study, and surrounded himself with learned men, in whose society he took great pleasure. His government

Alla-ood-deen.

was stern and inflexible, but not unsuited to the exigencies of the time. The military operations of his reign, which extended to twenty-seven years, were divided between the north and south of India. Early in his reign he finally A.D.
conquered Guzerat, which had assumed independence, and 1297
two years after obtained possession of the fortress of Rinthimbore and then of Chittore, which brought the Rajpoots "under the yoke of obedience." His territories to the north-west of Delhi were constantly disturbed by the inroads of the Moguls from Central Asia, and in 1298 Kutlugh Khan marched down from the Indus with an army of 200,000 men upon Delhi, which was crowded with fugitives till famine began to stare them in the face, when 1298.
Alla-ood-deen marched out and dispersed this vast host. The invasion was twice repeated, and as often repelled, and the emperor, to deter these inveterate enemies by a severe example, caused the heads of all his male prisoners to be struck off and erected into a pillar at Delhi.

His first expedition to the Deccan, when seated on the throne, was directed against Warungul, the ancient capital of Telingana, but it was not successful. Three years later, a larger army was sent under the command of Malik Kafoor, a eunuch, once the slave, but now the favourite general of the emperor, and the object of envy to the nobles of the court. He overran the Mahratta country and recovered Dowlutabad, which had revolted. In the previous expedition against 1306
Guzerat, the wife of the raja had fallen into the hands of the victors and was placed in the imperial harem, where her singular beauty and her talents excited the admiration of the emperor. She had borne a daughter to her former husband, whose attractions were said to be equal to her own, and the generals were ordered diligently to seek her out. She was unexpectedly discovered and conveyed to Delhi, where she made such an impression on the king's son that he married her;—at so early a period do we find intermarriages between the Mahomedans and the Hindoos in 1309
vogue. In 1309, Kafoor ravaged the north of Telingana, and conquered Warungul. The next year he was sent with a large army down to the Carnatic, and reached the capital after a march of three months. The raja was defeated and made prisoner, and with him ended the Bellal dynasty of the Deccan. Kafoor then ravaged the eastern provinces along the Coromandel coast down to the extreme limit of the peninsula, and, as a memorial of his 1310

Expeditions to the Deccan.

victories erected a mosque on the island of Ramisseram, between the continent and the island of Ceylon, contiguous to the magnificent temple erected ages before in honour of Seeta, the wife of the hero of the Ramayun. The value of the plunder he acquired in these expeditions was calculated by historians deemed sober, at a hundred crores of rupees.

In the decline of life Alla-ood-deen exhibited an in-
1312 fatuated attachment to Kafoor, whose depravity equalled his talents, and a spirit of discontent spread throughout the provinces. His strength, both of body and mind, was impaired by constant indulgence, and the empire, which had been sustained by his energy, fell into a state of anarchy. Guzerat, Chittore, and Deoghur deserted their allegiance, and he sank
1316 into the grave under a cloud of misfortunes. His conquests were greater than had ever been achieved before in India; his internal administration was eminently successful, and the wealth and prosperity of the country were increased. His death became the signal for revolutions. The infamous Kafoor seized upon the regency and put out the eyes of the two sons of his benefactor. The nobles of the court, however, caused him to be put to death, and placed the deceased emperor's third son upon the throne, who lost no time in putting the instruments of his elevation to death, and extinguishing the sight of his youngest brother. He reconquered some of the provinces which had revolted, but on his return to the capital gave himself up to the most degrading vices, while his favourite, Khosroo, a converted Hindoo, undertook an expedition to the Deccan and ravaged the maritime province of Malabar, which Kafoor had spared. Khosroo returned to Delhi laden with booty, assassinated his master, and usurped the throne, and then proceeded to massacre the royal family; but Ghazee Toghluk, the governor of the Punjab, marched on Delhi with the veteran troops of the marches, disciplined
1321 by constant conflicts with the Moguls; and put an end to the reign and life of the monster.

Extinction of the Ghilzie dynasty.

SECTION III.

THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK TO THE MOGUL DYNASTY.

GHAZEE TOGHLUK was desirous of placing some scion of the royal house upon the throne, but the family had been exterminated during the recent convulsions, and he yielded to the wishes of the nobles and people to accept it himself. His father was originally a slave of the emperor Bulbun, but raised himself to high honour by his abilities. His reign, which lasted only four years, was as commendable as his accession had been blameless. Bengal had prospered for forty years under the viceroyalty of Kurrah, the son of the emperor Bulbun, and as charges had been brought against him, Ghazee Toghluk investigated them in person, and, finding them groundless, confirmed him in the government; and the native historian illustrates the mutations of fortune at this period by the remark that it was the son of the father's slave who granted the royal umbrella to his son. An expedition was sent into Telingana; the capital, Warungul, was captured, and the Hindoo dynasty which had flourished there for two centuries and a half became extinct. Jona Khan, the son of the emperor, on his return from this campaign, gave an entertainment to his father in a magnificent pavilion which fell unexpectedly, but not accidentally, and crushed him to death. A.D. 1321 Ghazee Toghluk.

Jona Khan, who ascended the throne and assumed the title of Mahomed Toghluk, is one of the most extraordinary characters in the Mahomedan history of India —a singular compound of opposite qualities. He was the most accomplished sovereign of the age, skilled in every science, and versed even in Greek philosophy; the liberal patron of learning, temperate to the verge of asceticism, and distinguished in the field by his gallantry and military skill. But all these virtues were neutralised by such perversity of disposition and such paroxysms of tyranny as to render him the object of general execration. It was the intoxication of absolute power which led him to acts bordering on insanity. He began his reign by completing the reduction of the Deccan; he extended the limits of the empire beyond any of his predecessors, and brought the remotest districts into as good order as those 1325. Mahomed Toghluk; his caprices.

around Dèlhi; yet, before his death the whole of the Deccan was lost to the crown by his follies. He assembled a large army for the conquest of Persia, but, after exhausting his resources, the troops deserted for want of pay, and became the terror of his own subjects. To replenish his treasury he resolved to march into China and levy contributions in that remote region, but the army of 100,000 men which he sent across the snowy range, after encountering incredible hardships, was all but exterminated by the Chinese and the exasperated highlanders, and the few who escaped to tell the tale were butchered by his own orders. Hearing that the Chinese had a paper currency in use, he determined to introduce it into his dominions, to the ruin of thousands and the general derangement of commerce. His exactions drove the husbandmen into the woods, and filled the country with banditti. By way of revenge he surrounded a large tract of territory with his troops, and driving the wretched inhabitants into the centre, slaughtered them with all the brutality of a battue. In 1338 he took the field against his nephew, who had been driven into revolt, and the young prince was captured and flayed alive. On reaching Dooghur, he was so enchanted with the beauty of the situation and the mildness of the climate, that he resolved to make it the capital of the empire, and changed its name to Dowlutabad. He then ordered the inhabitants of Delhi to migrate to it, and thousands of men, women, and children were constrained to travel a distance of eight hundred miles; but he planted the road with full-grown trees. The project of transplanting the metropolis failed, but not till it had inflicted incalculable misery on the people. At the same time, as if to mock the calamities of his subjects, he erected a splendid mausoleum over the grave of a decayed tooth.

Expedition to Persia. A.D. 1325

1338 Change of capital.

These caprices and oppressions produced the usual harvest of insurrections. The Afghans crossed the Indus and ravaged the Punjab, and when they retired the Gukkers completed the desolation of the province. Bengal revolted, and remained independent for two centuries. Two fugitives from Telingana established a Hindoo kingdom near the Toombudra, with Beejanuger for its capital. About the same time a descendant of the royal house of Telingana founded an independent principality at Golconda; and these two Hindoo powers maintained a vigorous struggle for many years with the Mahomedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan.

Dismemberment of the empire. 1340 1344

A still more important revolution wrested the remaining provinces south of the Nerbudda from the sceptre of Delhi. A large body of Moguls who had settled in Guzerat raised the standard of revolt. The emperor proceeded against them with his usual vigour, gave up the cities of Surat and Cambay to plunder, and desolated the province as if it had been the possession of an enemy. The Moguls fled to the Deccan, and being joined by those whom the emperor's oppressions had exasperated, took possession of Dowlutabad, where they proclaimed Ishmael Khan, an Afghan, king, and, after one reverse, established a new monarchy, known in history as the Bahminee kingdom. Mahomed Toghluk died in Sinde after a reign of twenty-one years, leaving the throne of Delhi dispossessed of the whole of the Deccan and of the province of Bengal. A.D. 1351

Mahomed Toghluk was succeeded by his son Feroze, whose reign extended to thirty-seven years, and though mild and beneficent, was by no means brilliant. He discouraged luxury by his own example, repealed vexatious taxes, and abolished torture and mutilation. His ruling passion was architecture; and the Mahomedan historian records with pride the erection of forty mosques, thirty colleges, twenty palaces, a hundred hospitals, a hundred public baths, a hundred and fifty bridges, and two hundred towns. But the noblest memorial of his reign was the canal he constructed between the source of the Ganges and the Sutlege, which bears his name, and keeps it fragrant in the recollection of posterity. After a reign of thirty-four years he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Mahomed Toghluk the second; who gave himself up to indulgence, and constrained his father to resume his power, but at the age of ninety, he resigned the sceptre to his grandson. During the next ten years the throne was occupied by four princes, two of whom held authority in the capital at the same time and for three years waged incessant war with each other. Hindostan fell a prey to anarchy; four independent kingdoms were carved out of the imperial dominions, and nothing remained to the crown of Delhi but the districts immediately around the capital. Feroze Toghluk and his successors. 1388 1394

These kingdoms were all founded by the Mahomedan viceroys; no effort was made by the Hindoos to take advantage of the confusion of the times, and regain their supremacy, and the ancient chiefs of Rajpootana were the only depository of Hindoo Four independent kingdoms.

power in Hindostan. Of these kingdoms two, Malwa and Guzerat, rose to great power and eminence; while the two others, Candesh and Jounpore, were of minor weight and more limited duration. Dilawur Khan of Ghore, the
A.D. viceroy of Malwa, who assumed independence, established
1401 his capital at Mandoo, fifteen miles north of the Nerbudda. Mozuffer Khan, a Rajpoot converted to Mahomedanism, and like all converts, more especially in India, a virulent persecutor of his former creed, was sent by one of the feeble successors of Feroze Toghluk to supersede the suspected governor of Guzerat, and, seeing no power at Delhi
1396 to enforce obedience, threw off the yoke of allegiance. The viceroy of Candesh, which consists of the lower valley of the Taptee, followed his example, and formed a matrimonial alliance with the new king of Guzerat. Still nearer the capital, Khoja Jehan the vizier of Mahomed Toghluk the third, availed himself of the weakness of the throne, and "assumed the royal umbrella," in Jounpore. The empire
1394 of Delhi, distracted by these revolts, and shorn of its fairest provinces, fell an easy prey to the ruthless invader who was now advancing to despoil it of its wealth.

The Ameer Timur, or Tamerlane, was born in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, of a Turki family which had
1398 been in the service of Jenghiz Khan. His lot was
Timur. cast at a period when the decay of vigour in the governments in the east offered the fairest opportunity of conquest to any daring adventurer. He was raised to the throne of Samarcand at the age of thirty-four; and in a few years prostrated every throne which stood in the way of his ambition, and became at once the scourge of Asia and the terror of Europe. He led the hordes of Tartary to the conquest of Persia, Khorasan and Transoxiana, of Mesopotamia and Georgia, and brought a portion of Russia and Siberia under subjection. Having mastered the whole of Central Asia, he sent his grandson to invade India, but as he met with more opposition than was expected, Timur himself crossed the Indus at Attock, September 12, 1398, with ninety-two squadrons of horse, and advanced to Bhutnere, which was surrendered by the inhabitants on terms; but, by one of those mistakes which seemed always to occur in his capitulations, they were put to the sword and the town burnt to the ground. Villages and towns were abandoned as he advanced, but on his arrival at Delhi, he found himself encumbered with prisoners, and, according to the statement of the historians, which were doubtless ex-

aggerated, he caused 100,000 men to be massacred in cold blood. A battle was fought under the walls of the capital, between the veterans of Timur and the effeminate soldiers of the empire. The emperor Mahomed Toghluk the third was defeated and fled to Guzerat, and Timur entered the city and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Disputes, as might have been expected, arose between the citizens and his ferocious soldiers, and the whole of the Mogul army was let loose on the devoted city. The inhabitants sold their lives dearly, but their valour was quenched in their blood. The scenes of horror defy all description; entire streets were choked up with the dying and the dead. For five days Timur remained a tranquil spectator of the plunder and conflagration of the city, while he celebrated his victory by a magnificent feast. Having glutted his revenge and satiated his cupidity he proceeded "to offer "up to the divine Majesty his humble tribute of grateful "praise for his success, in the noble mosque of polished "marble, erected by Feroze on the banks of the Jumna." This whirlwind of desolation lasted six months, and Timur recrossed the Indus in March 1399. Mahomed Toghluk returned to Delhi after the departure of Timur, and continued to exercise a precarious authority for twelve years, when Khizir Khan, the governor of the Punjab, marched to Delhi, and extinguished the dynasty of the Toghluks, after it had subsisted ninety-one years.

A.D. 1399

The dynasty established by Khizir Khan which lasted only thirty-six years, is designated in Indian history the dynasty of the Syuds, as they claimed descent from the Prophet. The founder professed to be only the lieutenant of Timur, who had bestowed the government of the Punjab on him, and caused money to be coined and prayers to be read in his name. His administration, which was extended to nine years, was beneficial to the distracted provinces, but, with the exception of his own province, he recovered none of the revolted districts. His son, Mobarik, was assassinated after a reign of thirteen years, in which no event of importance requires to be noted. Syud Mahomed who succeeded him left the throne to his son Alla-ood-deen, during whose feeble reign the territory annexed to the crown was still farther reduced till at length it extended twelve miles from Delhi on one side and only one in another. In 1450 Beloli Lodi marched down to Delhi, and the emperor resigned the empty honours of royalty to him without a sigh, and re-

1414

Dynasty of the Syuds.

1421

1450

tired on a pension to Budaon where he passed the remaining twenty-eight years of his life in cultivating his garden.

The grandfather of Beloli Lodi, the founder of this dynasty, was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, or Lohance, engaged in the transport of merchandize, in which he had amassed a fortune. He repaired to the court of Feroze Toghluk, and gradually rose to the government of Mooltan. He was not content with the narrow limits to which the imperial domains had been reduced, but his chief object was the conquest of Jounpore, which had become independent in 1394 by the revolt of Khoja Jehan. The Jounpore dynasty flourished for eighty-two years, under six sovereigns, the most illustrious of whom, Ibrahim, occupied the throne for one half that period. Under his beneficent rule the country reached the summit of prosperity. Learned men from all parts of Asia were invited to his court, which was esteemed the most polished and illustrious in India. His capital was adorned with superb and massive edifices, the remains of which still excite our admiration. Not merely was it the rival of Delhi in magnificence, but the strength of the kingdom was so pre-eminent that the struggle between the emperor and the king was prolonged with varied success for twenty-eight years, during which Delhi was twice besieged by the arms of Jounpore. Hostilities were occasionally suspended by a hollow truce, but they came to a final issue in 1478, when the last of the "kings of the east," as the dynasty was termed, fled to Bengal, and the kingdom was reannexed to the dominions of Delhi. Beloli Lodi succeeded in extending the territories of the crown from the Jumna to the Himalaya, and from the Indus to Benares; and after a reign of thirty-eight years bequeathed the throne to his son Secunder, who added Behar to his conquests. But his administration, though otherwise just and equitable, was marked by the oppression of the Hindoos, whose pilgrimages he prohibited, and whose temples he demolished in every direction, erecting mosques with the materials. In 1517, Ibrahim, the third and the last of the line, succeeded to the crown, and alienated his nobles by his arrogance and hauteur to such a degree that his reign of nine years was a constant succession of revolts, which broke out in Behar, in Jounpore and in the Punjab, where the governor opened negotiations with Behar for the invasion of India. The

The dynasty of Lodi.

A.D. 1391

The kingdom of Jounpore.

1478

1517

emperor's own brother joined him at Cabul. The success which attended the expedition of the Mogul will be narrated in a subsequent chapter. Having thus reached the threshold of the period when the imperial throne was transferred to the last Mahomedan dynasty, under which it was gradually restored to its integrity, we turn back to the progress of events in Hindostan and in the 'Deccan when it was first dismembered.

Candesh became independent about the year 1399, and was not reannexed to the empire till the reign of Akbar, two centuries after. It was a small principality, of no note in history, remarkable only for the fertility of its soil, and the prosperity of its people; it was, moreover, always considered subordinate to its more powerful neighbour Guzerat. The independence of Guzerat was established in 1396 by Mozuffer Shah, and a succession of thirteen princes governed it for 165 years, till it expired in 1561. At the period of the revolt the province was of limited extent, consisting of the land lying between the mountains and the sea, but it was enlarged by successive acquisitions. The great figure it makes in history is owing to the energy and ability of its princes, the first of whom Mozuffer, the son of a Rajpoot convert, was constantly at war with the king of Malwa, or with the raja of Edur, the most powerful Hindoo principality in the north. His son Ahmed Shah reigned thirty-eight years, and was likewise incessantly engaged in hostilities with his neighbours, but he brought the country into good order, and built the town of Ahmedabad, which he made his capital, and adorned with such a profusion of magnificent mosques, caravanseras, and palaces, as to lead the Mahomedan historians to pronounce it the handsomest city in the world. The next two reigns, which extended to sixteen years, were occupied chiefly with struggles with Koombho, who was then building up a great Hindoo power in Rajpootana. Mahomed Shah, who ascended the throne at the age of fourteen, shed a lustre on it for a period of more than half a century. The European travellers who visited his court formed the most extravagant conceptions of his power, and asserted that a portion of his daily food consisted of mortal poisons with which his system became so impregnated that if a fly sat on him it fell down dead. He was the original of the picture drawn by the British poet of the prince of Cambay, 'whose food was asp, and basilisk, and toad.' But even without

A.D.
1399
Candesh.
Guzerat.
1396
1411
1459

the power of digesting poisons he was a most puissant prince. He captured Gernar, a Hindoo fortress renowned for its antiquity and its strength. He overran Cutch, defeated an army of Belooches, and annexed Sinde to his dominions. But the distinguishing feature of his reign was the navy he constructed, and the numerous naval expeditions which he undertook. He cleared the coast of pirates, who are said to have fought twenty battles before they were subdued. His memorable conflict with the
A.D. Portuguese will be narrated in a future chapter. He was
1511 succeeded by his son, Mozuffer the second, whose reign of fourteen years consisted of constant campaigns against Malwa, and the renowned Rana Sanga of Rajpootana.

The rapid disappearance of two of his sons, in a single
1526 year, opened the throne to his third son, Bahadoor Shah,
Bahadoor Shah. who subdued the hereditary foe of his dynasty, the Hindoo prince of Edur, and compelled the kings of Berar, Ahmednugur and Candesh to do him homage. His next exploit led to a more splendid result. The king of Malwa having provoked his hostility, he marched against him in conjunction with his ally, Rana Sing, captured both his capital and his person, and annexed the
1534 kingdom to his own territories. Soon after, the brother of the last emperor of Delhi of the Lodi family, which had been dispossessed by the Mogul Baber, sought an asylum at the court of Guzerat, and Bahadoor Shah supplied him with the means of raising an army, which was however defeated. Humayoon, then emperor of Delhi, incensed at this proceeding, marched down to Guzerat, expelled Bahadoor, and took possession of the kingdom. But he was soon after recalled to defend his own throne against Shere Khan; dissensions broke out among his generals, and Bahadoor was enabled to recover his throne. After a reign of ten years he was drowned in the harbour of Diu,
1535 as he left the vessel of the Portuguese admiral. The next sovereign was distracted for sixteen years by the factions of his chiefs. Two pageants were set up in succession by the courtiers, but they eventually partitioned the kingdom among themselves. At length, after nearly twenty years of convulsions, Akbar put an end to this state of anarchy by annexing the kingdom to the throne of Delhi, after it
1572 had been alienated a hundred and seventy-six years.

Malwa became independent in 1401, under Dilawur Ghore, who bequeathed the throne four years
1401 Malwa. after to his son Hoosein Ghore. His reign of

twenty-five years was passed in incessant wars with his neighbours. His son was assassinated by his minister, A.D. Mahomed Khan Ghiljie, who mounted the throne, and 1435 during a period of forty-seven years proved himself the ablest of the kings of Malwa. He appears to have had the unobstructed range of northern India, as we find him besieging Delhi, and establishing his son as governor of Ajmere. It was recorded of him that 'the tent was his house, and the battle-field his resting place.' His son, Gheias-ood-deen, mounted the throne in 1482, and, having 1482 invited his courtiers to a splendid entertainment, informed them that he had passed thirty-four years of his life in the field, fighting by the side of his gallant father, and that he was resolved to spend the remainder of his days in peace and enjoyment; while therefore he retained the royal dignity, he should leave the management of public affairs to his son. The youth was proclaimed vizier, and the king retired to his seraglio, which he had stocked with 15,000 of the most beautiful women he could procure. In this female court the pomp and parade of royalty was strictly maintained. The royal body-guard consisted of 500 Turki maidens, arrayed in male attire, and of 500 Abyssinian maidens. Strange to say, he was allowed to retain this pageantry for eighteen years, without any attempt at rebellion. His son succeeded him in 1500 and his reign of twelve years was marked only by cruelty and sensuality. Mahmood, the last king, was assailed by the Rajpoots, and rescued by Bahadoor Shah, king of Guzerat; but he was incapable of gratitude, and attacked his benefactor, who marched down to his capital in conjunction with the 1531 Rajpoots, and extinguished the kingdom after a hundred and thirty years of independence.

At the period of the first invasion of the Mahomedans in 1001, the Rajpoots appear to have been in possession of all the governments in northern India; but, although they succumbed to the conquerors, they continued to maintain a spirit of independence under their respective chieftains in the table-land of Rajpootana, in the centre of Hindostan. The most important of these chiefs was the rana of Oodypore, in his capital of Chittore. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the throne was filled by Rana Sanga, whose genius and valour raised it to the height of power. His army consisted of 80,000 horse and 500 war elephants; and seven rajas of superior rank and more than a hundred of inferior note attended his stirrup into

Rajpootana.

the field. The chiefs next in importance, the rajas of Jeypore and Joudpore, or Marwar, served under his banner, and he was the acknowledged head of the Rajpoot tribes. The national historian dwells with pride on the eighteen battles he fought with Guzerat and Malwa. His genius consolidated the power of that gallant and chivalrous race, and prepared it for the resistance which it was soon to offer to the Moguls, which, if it had been successful, would doubtless have restored the sovereignty of Hindostan to the Hindoos.

It has been stated that the oppressions of Mahomed Toghluk led to the establishment of an independent Mahomedan government in the Deccan, by Hussun Gunga, an Afghan, in 1347. Out of gratitude to his Hindoo patron, he took the additional title of Bahminee, by which the dynasty is known in history, and extended his authority over all the territories belonging to the crown of Delhi south of the Nerbudda, with the exception of those included in the two Hindoo kingdoms of Beejanuger and Telingana. His son, who succeeded him in 1358, commenced his reign by attacking the king of Telingana, from whom he obtained the surrender of a throne, which, with the jewels he added to it, was valued at four crores. In a drunken revel he offered an insult to the king of Beejanuger, who attacked the town of Moodgul, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Mahomed, the king, swore that food and sleep should be unlawful to him till he had propitiated the martyrs of Moodgul by the slaughter of 100,000 infidels. He entered the raja's territories, and ravaged them without mercy; and having, as he supposed, completed his vow, granted him honourable terms, and on his return devoted his attention to the improvement of his country. After a reign of seventeen years he left the crown to his son, but he was murdered by his uncle. Feroze, the son of the assassin, mounted the throne in 1397, and his reign, together with that of his brother, which extended over thirty-seven years, are considered the palmy days of the dynasty. He made twenty-four campaigns, and carried fire and sword through the length and breadth of the Carnatic. At the same time, he was an eminent patron of literature. He likewise established a mercantile marine, and instructed his commanders to bring the most learned men and the handsomest women from every port they visited. His seraglio is said to have contained beauties

A.D. 1347 The Bahminee dynasty.

1358

1397

from thirteen different countries, and the historians affirm that he was able to converse with each one in her own tongue. He likewise made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran daily. Towards the close of his reign he attacked the raja of Beejanuger, and was totally defeated, when the triumphant Hindoos retaliated on him for the destruction of their temples, by the demolition of his mosques. His brother, Ahmed Shah, in his turn defeated the Hindoos, and pursued them with unrelenting severity from day to day, not pausing till the number of the slain was reported to have reached 20,000. We pass on to the last monarch of the dynasty. Mahomed Shah, who was placed on the throne at the age of nine, was affectionately nurtured by his minister Mahomed Gawan, A.D. the most eminent general and statesman of the age, through 1463 whose energetic efforts the kingdom reached its greatest limits, and was extended from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, and from the Nerbudda to the Kistna. His internal administration was equally successful, and the prosperity of the country rose to its highest measure. The envious courtiers succeeded, however, in alienating the king from the man to whom he was under these obligations, and in a fit of drunken revelry, he ordered him to be put to death. Gawan was then in his seventy-eighth year, and he knelt down with his face towards Mecca, and received the fatal blow. Though he had held high office under five kings, he died in graceful poverty. The king himself became a prey to remorse, and died within a twelve month. It is unnecessary to pursue the history of this dynasty; Mahomed Shah, his son, ascended the throne in 1482, and lived on, though he cannot be said to have 1482 reigned, for thirty-seven years. The kingdom crumbled away as governor after governor revolted, and was at length resolved into five independent sovereignties.

1. Adil Shah, the adopted son of Mahomed Gawan, 1489 founded the kingdom of Beejapore and the Adil Shahee dynasty in 1489, which retained its independence for one hundred and ninety-seven years, until it was absorbed by Aurungzebe in 1686. Five independent kingdoms.

2. Hussun Bheiry, who instigated the murder of Ma- 1490 homed Gawan, was executed by order of his master, and his son Ahmed Nizam raised the standard of revolt in 1487, at Ahmednugur, where he established the Nizam Shahee dynasty, which continued for one hundred and fifty years, till it was subverted by Shah Jehan in 1637.

A.D. 1484 3. Imad-ool-moolk made himself independent at Berar in 1484, and commenced the Imad Shahee dynasty, which was extinguished at the end of ninety years by the king of Ahmednugur in 1574.

1512 4. Koolee Kootub, a Turkoman, who rose to be governor of Golconda, established his independence there in 1512, under the name of the Kootub Shahee dynasty, which subsisted for a hundred and seventy five years, and was extinguished by Aurungzebe in 1687.

1498 5. Ahmed Bereed, who was appointed minister on the murder of Mahomed Gawan, gradually absorbed all the power of the state, and erected what remained of its domains into an independent state at Beder. It was of limited extent, and the period of its extinction is uncertain.

This partition of the Deccan among five independent sovereigns who were constantly at war with each other, or with the Hindoo monarchs, subjected the wretched country to perpetual desolation; but there can be little advantage to the reader in wading through a long succession of sieges and battles, and encumbering the memory with a string of names and dates of no interest. The salient events of this long period of anarchy will come up in the history of the Mogul empire, in which they were eventually absorbed after more than a century and a half of conflict.

SECTION IV.

THE MOGUL DYNASTY—BABER—HUMAYOON—AKBAR.

1526 IN the month of April 1526 Sultan Baber captured Delhi, and established the Mogul dynasty, which continued to flourish with only one interruption, and with increasing lustre, for a hundred and eighty years, under a succession, unprecedented in Indian history, of six sovereigns, distinguished by their gallantry in the field, and, with one exception, by their ability in the cabinet.

The Mogul dynasty.

Baber, the sixth in descent from Timur, was the son of Sheikh Mirza, the ruler of Ferghana on the upper Jaxartes. His mother was a descendant of Jenghiz Khan, and he inherited the spirit of enterprize which distinguished both his renowned ancestors, and at the early age of fifteen commenced that adventurous career which he pursued without intermission for thirty-

Baber's early career.

five years. His first campaign was directed against the city of Samarcand, the capital of Timur and the metropolis of Transoxiana, but though he captured it three times, he was as often expelled from it. For eight years he was engaged in a series of perilous and romantic enterprizes, and experienced vicissitudes of fortune which would have crushed an ordinary mortal, but which only seemed to give fresh vigour to his buoyant spirit. In the year 1504, seeing little prospect of success in his native province, he seized the city of Cabul, of which he retained possession for twenty-two years, incessantly employed in defending or enlarging his dominions. His greatest peril arose from the progress of the Uzbeks, a tribe of ferocious Turks and Tartars, then swarming from their native hive, whose leader, Sharbek, had swept the posterity of Timur from Khorasan and Transoxiana. In his march towards the Indus the Uzbek captured Candahar, and threatened Cabul, and would probably have extinguished the hopes and the ambition of Baber had he not been recalled to resist the hostility of Ishmael Shah, who had recently founded the dynasty of the Sophis in Persia. The Uzbek chief was routed and slain, but the footing which his tribe obtained in Transoxiana they retain with vigour to this day. Baber, who had again occupied Samarcand, and had been again expelled from it, now turned his attention to India, where the imbecility and the unpopularity of the emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, offered an allurement too strong for a descendant of Timur to resist. He was invited to invade it by men of influence who had been alienated from the emperor by his oppressions, and more particularly by his own brother, who sought refuge at Cabul. In the course of five years, commencing with 1519 he made five irruptions across the Indus, with alternate success and disappointment. In 1526 he undertook his last and crowning expedition, with an army not exceeding 12,000 men, but, though a heterogeneous mixture of mercenaries, they were all veterans, disciplined in many fields. The destiny of India was decided on the field of Paniput, where the emperor Ibrahim encountered him with, it is said, 100,000 troops and 1000 elephants, and was totally discomfited and fell. Delhi opened her gates to the conqueror, and in May 1526 he vaulted into the vacant throne. But Delhi had long ceased to be the capital and the mistress of India. The great Mahomedan empire which, in the early days of Mahomed Toghluk, embraced the whole continent, had been broken up a century and a half before

Baber in India.

May 1526

State of India.

by his extravagances, and the victory of Baber only gave him possession of the districts to the north-west of the capital, and a strip of territory extending along the banks of the Jumna down to Agra. The various provinces were in the hands of independent rulers. In the southern extremity of India the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejanuger was lord of the ascendant. Farther north lay another Hindoo principality, and the territories of the five kingdoms recently formed on the dissolution of the Bahminee monarchy. Guzerat was governed by a wild youth who had recently absorbed Malwa. Bengal, including Behar, was ruled by an Afghan king. Orissa was still in possession of its ancient Hindoo dynasty, and in northern India Rana Sanga had consolidated Hindoo sovereignty in Rajpootana, and was at this time the most powerful ruler north of the Nerbudda.

Rana Sanga, elated by the success he had recently obtained over the king of Malwa in conjunction with the king of Guzerat, espoused the cause of the dethroned family of Lodi. All the Rajpoot princes ranged themselves under his banner, and he advanced with 100,000 men, the flower of the Rajpoot chivalry, to drive Baber back across the Indus. In the first engagement at Biana, Baber experienced a very disastrous defeat: some of his officers and men deserted their colours, others went over to the enemy, and all were disheartened, but he did not allow himself to despair. He states, in his interesting memoirs, that he repented of his sins, and determined to reform his life, that he forswore the use of wine, melted down his silver and gold goblets, and determined to live like a true Moosulman and cultivate his beard. His enthusiasm reanimated his troops, and in the engagement to which he led them, he obtained a splendid victory which completely crippled and humbled the Rajpoot power. The next year he attacked and mastered Chanderee, a Rajpoot fortress hitherto deemed impregnable; and in the succeeding year recovered Oude and northern Behar, and chastised the king of Bengal. But his constitution, which had been impaired by early indulgences, was worn out by these exertions in an uncongenial climate, and he died at Agra in 1530, at the age of fifty, and was interred at Cabul, in a beautiful spot he had selected for his grave, the simple and chaste monument erected over which has continued to attract the admiration of three centuries. No

Baber's victory over the Rajpoots.

A.D. 1527

1528

1530

His death and character.

Mahomedan prince in India is held in higher estimation than Baber. His career exhibited all that romantic spirit of adventure of which nations are always proud. His personal courage bordered on rashness; his activity appears fabulous; for thirty-eight years, as he records, he had never kept the feast of Ramzan twice in the same place. But he was rather a valorous soldier than a great general, and lost almost as many battles as he won, but he never lost heart, and was as buoyant after a defeat as after a victory. Amidst all the bustle of war he found leisure for the cultivation of literature, and his poetry has been not a little admired. There is no Indian prince with whose individual character and tastes and feelings we are so familiar; and this is owing to his interesting autobiography, in which he records his transgressions with so much candour, and his repentance with so much sincerity, and his friendships with such warmth, that the reader is led involuntarily to regard him as a personal friend.

A.D. 1530

Humayoon succeeded his father in 1530, at the age of twenty-six, and the first act of his reign displayed the weakness of his character. His brother Camran, the governor of Cabul and Candahar, refused to acknowledge his authority, but he resigned those provinces to him—adding thereto the Punjab—and thus deprived himself of the means of recruiting his army with the hardy mountaineers of Afghanistan, and, as Baber's veterans died out, was obliged to depend on those whom he could enlist from his half-subdued subjects in India. In the third year of his reign he was involved in hostilities with Bahadoor Shah, the wild king of Guzerat, who had furnished the dethroned family of Lodi with the means of assailing him. Bahadoor was defeated, and obliged to take refuge at the land's-end of Diu, and the whole province was occupied by the Mogul troops. Humayoon then proceeded against Chumpanere, a fortress likewise considered impregnable, but with 300 troops he climbed a perpendicular rock by means of spikes driven into it, and captured it at once. He was immediately after recalled to Agra to arrest the progress of Shere Khan, but was defeated and expelled from India after a reign of ten years, and a new dynasty mounted the throne.

Humayoon.

1534

Shere Khan was an Afghan of noble parentage, born at Sasseram, in Behar, where his father held a jageer under the governor. He enlisted as a private soldier under the revolted viceroy of

Dynasty of Shere Shah.

Jounpore, but cultivated his mind with great assiduity and educated himself for a future career of ambition. A long series of adventures, ended in his obtaining possession of Behar, and invading Bengal, and it was to oppose
A.D. 1535 his alarming progress that Humayoon was recalled from Guzerat. He marched down upon him, but wasted six months in the siege of Chunar, which was at length captured by the powerful artillery of Humayoon manned by Portuguese gunners and directed by Roomy Khan, a Turk of Constantinople, whom he had brought with him from Guzerat. Meanwhile Shere Khan had defeated the king of Bengal and captured Gour, but not deeming himself sufficiently strong to resist the imperial troops he retired to the mountain region of Behar and deposited his family and his treasures in the stronger fortress of Rhotas.
1538 The emperor took possession of Gour, but when the rains set in, the delta of the Ganges became a sheet of water, and his army was isolated and decimated by sickness and desertion. Shere Khan then issued from his fastnesses, took possession of Behar and Benares, recovered Chunar, and pushed his detachments up to Cunouge. Humayoon was obliged to retreat towards his capital, but was intercepted and defeated, and Shere Khan assumed the imperial title. Humayoon at length reached Agra after his defeat, and employed eight months in recruiting his force, while his rival was employed in organising the provinces he had conquered. The two armies met at Cunouge, where the emperor experienced a second and more fatal defeat, and fled first to Delhi, and
1540 then to Lahore; thus at the end of fourteen years, the power which the energy and perseverance of Baber had established was subverted, and scarcely a vestige of Mogul sovereignty remained in India, while the throne of Delhi reverted to the Afghans. Humayoon fled to Sinde and was engaged for eighteen months in fruitless negotiations with its chiefs. He then threw himself on the kindness of the Rajpoot prince of Marwar, but was rudely repulsed from his court and pursued with an armed force by his son. The wretched emperor, after suffering incredible hardships in crossing the desert, at length succeeded in reaching Amercote with only seven mounted attendants; and there his queen, who had nobly shared with him the torments of the journey, gave birth to a son, afterwards the illustrious
1542 Akbar. After another series of reverses, he quitted India and repaired to Candahar.

Defeat of Humayoon.

Leaving Humayoon across the Indus, we turn to the career of Shere Shah, who mounted the throne and established a new dynasty, which however did not last more than sixteen years. In 1542 he conquered the province of Malwa, and reduced the great fortress of Raiseen, of boundless antiquity. Here his reputation was tarnished by the only stain ever attached to it. The garrison capitulated on terms, but the Mahomedan doctors assured him that, according to the doctrines of the Koran, no faith was to be kept with unbelievers, and they were slain to a man. In 1544 he invaded Marwar, which was defended by 50,000 Rajpoots, and he was exposed to such peril, that, in allusion to the barrenness of the country, he exclaimed, that "he had nearly lost the empire for a "handful of millet." Soon after, the capture of Chittore placed Rajpootana at his feet, and he then proceeded to attack Callinger, an ancient and strong fort in Bundlecund, but was killed by the explosion of a magazine. The five years of his reign form the most brilliant period in native history. He was equally qualified for the duties of war and of peace—a consummate general, and a liberal and enlightened statesman. Though incessantly engaged in the field, he reformed every branch of the civil administration; and of his institutions it is sufficient to say that they became the model of those of Akbar. He constructed a grand trunk road, lined with trees, from Bengal to the banks of the Indus, erected caravanseries, and excavated wells for the convenience of travellers; he was, moreover, the first prince to establish a mounted post. His second son Selim, after quelling a dangerous rebellion, was enabled to enjoy the throne in peace for nine years, indulging his hereditary taste for architecture. It was the profligacy of his brother and successor, known in history as Adili, which at length extinguished this short-lived dynasty. Having exhausted the treasury, he began to resume the estates of his Patan nobles, who went one by one into rebellion, and established five independent authorities, and nothing was at length left to the crown but the districts immediately around Delhi.

A.D. 1540 Shere Shah. 1544 1545 1551

To turn to the career of Humayoon. He proceeded from India to Candahar, but was driven from it by the hostility of his brother, and constrained to seek refuge at the court of Persia, where he was subject to all the mortifications a capricious despot could inflict. He was even constrained to undergo the indignity of putting on the

Restoration of Humayoon.

A.D. Kuzzilbash, or red cap of the Persians, and it was "proclaimed
1544 "by a triumphal flourish from the king's band." After repeated importunity, he was furnished with 14,000 horse for the conquest of Afghanistan, but only on condition of ceding the frontier provinces to the king. Candahar was captured after a siege of five months, and made over to the Persian prince who had accompanied him to receive possession of it. On his death Humayoon put a large portion of the Persian garrison to the sword—an act of perfidy which has left an indelible blot on his memory. He then marched to Cabul, and after various severe struggles succeeded in
1553 wresting it from his brothers, one of whom he deprived of sight, with excruciating torture. The increasing confusion in India led him to make a bold stroke to recover his throne. He crossed the Indus and encountered the formidable army of Secunder Soor, who had seized the Punjab on the dissolution of the imperial authority, and gained a complete victory. It was in this battle that the young Akbar earned his spurs. Humayoon hastened to Delhi, and remounted the throne which he had lost fifteen
1555 years before, but was not destined to enjoy it long. Six months afterwards, while descending the steps of his library, he heard the muezzin's call to prayer, and, as usual, stopped to repeat the creed, and then sat down; but on endeavouring to rise, the staff on which he leaned slipped over the polished steps, and he fell headlong over
1556 the parapet, and expired within four days, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and, including the period of his exile, the twenty-sixth year of his reign.

Akbar, the pride and ornament of the Mogul dynasty, was only thirteen years and three months of age when he was called to the throne, which he adorned by his genius for fifty years. He was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, his reign having begun two years before, and ended two years after hers. The administration was managed during his minority by Byram Khan, a Turkoman, the companion of Humayoon in all the vicissitudes of his career, and an eminent statesman and general, but austere, arrogant, and exceptionally bigoted. Hemu, one of the greatest commanders of the age, and, though a Hindoo, most loyal to the deposed emperor Adili, on hearing of the death of Humayoon, deposited his master at Chunar, and moved up to the capital with 100,000 men. Agra and Delhi opened their gates to him, and the ministers of Akbar entreated him to abandon India, and retire to

Akbar's early years.

Afghanistan; but Byram advised an immediate and vigorous attack, and Akbar supported his opinion. The two armies met at Paniput, and the destiny of India was again decided on that memorable field. Hemu was completely defeated, and conducted bleeding into the presence of the young monarch. Byram urged him to secure the religious merit of slaying an infidel, but he refused to imbrue his hands in the blood of a gallant and now helpless foe, and Byram struck off the head of the captive with one stroke of his scimitar. It was the military talent and the energy of Byram which had seated the Moguls again on the throne, and maintained Akbar's power; but the minister had grown too big for a subject, and for four years after his accession Akbar felt himself to be a cipher in his own court. Such bondage was intolerable to a high-spirited prince, and, at the age of eighteen, he resolved to emancipate himself from it. While out, therefore, on a hunting party, he suddenly returned to Delhi without his minister, and issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and that no orders were to be obeyed which did not issue from himself. Byram felt that his power was waning, and retired to Nagore, giving out that he was going on pilgrimage to Mecca, not without the hope of being reinstated, but Akbar sent him a message dismissing him from all his offices. He immediately went into revolt, and having raised an army, attempted an invasion of the Punjab, but was defeated and captured. As he entered the royal presence with his turban humbly cast around his neck, and threw himself at the feet of the prince he had cherished from the cradle, Akbar hastened to raise him, seated him on his right hand, and, after investing him with a robe of honour, offered him his choice of any post in the empire He preferred a retreat to Mecca, but was assassinated on the route by an Afghan, whose father he had put to death. A.D. 1556

Akbar was now his own master at the age of eighteen. Born amidst hardships, and trained up in adversity, he was beset with difficulties which would have broken a spirit of less energy. Of all the Mahomedan dynasties which had ruled India, that of the Moguls was the weakest. It was not connected with any large and powerful tribe beyond the Indus, ready to advance and support the ascendency of its fellow-countrymen in India. His army was a collection of mercenaries drawn to his 1560 Akbar's difficulties

A.D. 1560 to 1567 standard from the various countries of Central Asia, by the hope of plunder. His officers were a band of adventurers bound to him by no ties of hereditary loyalty, and more disposed to carve out principalities for themselves than to build up a Mogul empire. Before he could attempt to recover the dominions of the crown, it was necessary for him to establish his authority over his own chiefs, and for seven years he was engaged in crushing their revolts. In the first year of his reign, his territories were confined to the Punjab and the districts around Agra and Delhi, but he gradually recovered Ajmere, Gwalior and Oude. The son of the late emperor Adili made an attempt to recover his throne; he was defeated by Zeman Shah, but the general, despising the youth of his sovereign, withheld the royal share of the booty, and Akbar was obliged to take the field against him. Adam Khan, another general, was sent to expel the Afghans from Malwa; but, after defeating them, kept the fruits of the victory to himself. Akbar marched against him, but consented to accept his submission, and he requited this lenity by stabbing the vizier while at prayer in a chamber adjoining that occupied by the emperor, who thereupon ordered him to be thrown headlong into the Jumna. Soon after, Abdoolla Khan, a haughty Uzbek, who had been received with a host of his countrymen into the Mogul service, "withdrew his neck from the yoke of "obedience," but Akbar came down upon him with promptitude, and constrained him to fly to Guzerat. Great dissatisfaction was thereby created among the Uzbek officers, and a treasonable confederacy was organised in the army. One of their number, Asof Jah, was sent to subjugate the little Hindoo principality of Gurra, on the Nerbudda, near Jubbulpore, then governed by the Princess Doorgawutee, who was no less renowned for her valour than for her beauty. She commanded her army in person, and maintained the conflict with a noble heroism, till she 1564 received a wound in her eye. The troops, missing her presence, began to give way, when, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, she seized the stiletto of the elephant driver, and plunged it into her bosom. Her martial exploits are still a favourite theme with the bards of the Deccan. The principality was conquered by Asof Jah, but he appropriated the largest share of the rich booty to his own use, and then joined the confederacy, which now embraced the most considerable of Akbar's generals. His danger was extreme; it was no less than a

struggle for the throne, and the question at issue was, whether the empire should be Uzbek or Mogul. His detachments were repeatedly defeated, but he maintained the conflict with unflinching resolution for two years. At this critical juncture he was obliged to quit the pursuit of the Uzbeks, in consequence of the revolt of his brother, to whom he had entrusted the government of the Punjab. It was at once crushed, but on his return to the south he found that the revolted generals had taken possession of Allahabad and Oude, and were preparing to march on the capital. Though the rains had set in, when military operations are usually suspended in India, he did not hesitate to take the field against them, and, by his promptitude and vigour, succeeded at length in breaking up the confederacy. He had now subdued all his adversaries by his valour, or his clemency, and, at the age of twenty-five, he had the happiness of seeing his authority completely established over all the revolted provinces.

General Uzbek conspiracy.

With a spirit of liberality foreign to preceding conquerors, Baber determined to strengthen his throne by matrimonial alliances with the Hindoos. Humayoon had espoused the daughter of the raja of Jeypore. Akbar had likewise married two Rajpoot princesses, and his son had followed his example. Offices of great dignity and responsibility were conferred on these Hindoo princes, and they took a pride in these imperial alliances. But the orthodox house of Chittore, wrapped up in its religious exclusiveness and hauteur, disdained every such connection, and excommunicated those who had adopted them. The raja had given encouragement to the king of Malwa, and Akbar was determined to chastise him. The throne was at the time occupied by Oody Sing, the degenerate son of the illustrious Rana Sunga. He took refuge in the hills on the approach of the Mogul troops, and left the defence of his capital to Jeymul, the Rajpoot chief of Bednore, esteemed by his countrymen the bravest of the brave. The siege was protracted by his skill and valour, but he was killed by a bolt from the bow of Akbar. His death deprived the garrison of all confidence, and they devoted themselves to death with the accustomed solemnities. The women threw themselves on the funeral pyre of the chief, and the men rushed recklessly on the weapons of the Moguls, and perished to the number of 8,000.

Matrimonial alliances with the Rajpoots.

Attack of Chittore

A.D. 1568

Akbar's next enterprise was of greater magnitude. The kingdom of Guzerat, enlarged by the conquests of Bahadoor Shah, had been a prey to faction since his death in 1537, and four weak and profligate princes had occupied the throne in thirty-five years. Etimad Khan, once a Hindoo slave, who managed the government for Mozuffer the third, seeing no other mode of terminating the distractions of the country, invited Akbar to take possession of it, and he proceeded to Patun, where that feeble monarch resigned the sceptre to him, and Guzerat was again annexed to the crown of Delhi, after two centuries and a half of independence. But no sooner had he returned to his capital with the bulk of his army, than a turbulent chief of the name of Mirza raised a new revolt, and the imperial general was reduced to extremities The rains had set in, but Akbar was ready for action at all seasons. He immediately despatched 2,000 cavalry, and followed them with 300 of his own guards, marching 450 miles in nine days. The promptitude of his movements confounded the rebels, and the subjugation of the province was rendered complete.

Conquest of Guzerat.

A D 1572

1573

The attention of Akbar had been directed to Bengal while he was engaged in Guzerat. Under the successor of Shere Shah, the Afghan governor of the province assumed independence, and four kings of his line reigned in Bengal during a period of thirty years, The last was assassinated soon after he ascended the throne, which was then seized by Soliman, an illustrious Afghan, who determined on the conquest of Orissa, which was effected by his general, Kala-pahar. Soliman died in 1573, and was succeeded by Daood Khan, a debauchee and a coward, who, considering himself a match for Akbar, ventured to attack a fort above Ghazeepore. Akbar ordered an army down for the conquest of the kingdom, and the king retired to Orissa, where he encountered the Mogul army, and was defeated, but was allowed to retain the kingdom as a feudatory. The next year, on the withdrawal of the imperial troops, he revolted, and was defeated. He fell in the action, and with him terminated the last line of the Afghan kings of Bengal, which they had held for a period of two hundred and thirty-six years. The Mogul officers seized the jageers of the discomfited Afghans, but on being summoned to account for the revenues, and to produce the roll of the troops they were bound to maintain, they rose in a body, and 30,000 of Akbar's finest cavalry

Akbar invades Bengal.

1576

appeared in arms against him. The new conquest was lost for a time, and the spirit of disaffection was spreading through Oude. In this emergency the emperor, finding it impossible to trust the fidelity of his Mogul officers, sent an army of Rajpoots under the celebrated raja, Toder Mull, to reduce the province. He succeeded in giving a severe blow to the insurgents, but the war was protracted and the Afghans of Orissa took advantage of the confusion, and recovered their footing in the southern districts of Bengal. The great Rajpoot, raja Man Sing, was then despatched to quell this formidable insurrection, but it was not before the year 1592, after a dozen engagements and sixteen years of conflict, that the authority of the emperor was fully established in this province. A.D. 1577 1592

Two years after the conquest of Bengal, the kingdom of Orissa was added to the Mogul empire. Orissa had for twenty centuries been considered the Holy Land of India, and the region of pilgrimage under three successive creeds. For more than seven centuries it was the depository of the sacred tooth of Booddha, until that relic was removed to Ceylon. Then came the Hindoo dynasty of the Kesaris, who covered it with thousands of temples in honour of Seeva. This was succeeded by the dynasty of the Gunga-bungsas, who are believed to have come from the Gangetic province, and who assumed the title of Lords of the Elephant Their dominions covered 40,000 square miles, and extended from the banks of the Hooghly to the banks of the Godavery. They gave the ascendency to the worship of Vishnoo, and although Jugernath, a form of that god, makes his first appearance in that land of religious merit early in the fourth century, it was under the auspices of this dynasty that the 'Lord of the World' attained that supreme homage throughout the continent which he still maintains. The first sovereign of the line was fourteen years in erecting the magnificent temple at Pooree, and the resources of the state were exhausted by a succession of princes, in ecclesiastical endowments and the support of brahmins. Inroads were occasionally made by the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal, but the Hindoo princes of Orissa continued to maintain their independence with great vigour till the death, in 1532, of the last able monarch of the Gangetic dynasty, which was followed by a period of anarchy for twenty-four years, when Soliman, the king of Bengal, sent his general, Kala-pahar, to invade it. He was a brahmin by birth, but 1578 Conquest of Orissa.

had embraced the religion of the Prophet to obtain the hand of a princess of Gour, and became the unrelenting oppressor of his former creed. He defeated the raja, and with him ended the independence of this ancient and renowned kingdom. Kala-pahar persecuted the brahmins and confiscated the religious endowments which had accumulated during twenty generations of devout monarchs. He destroyed the idols and pulled down the temples to erect mosques with the materials, and he dug up the image of Jugernath from the Chilka lake, into which it had been thrown for safety, and conveying it to the banks of the Hooghly, committed it to the flames. According to popular rumour, the arms and legs of the idols dropped off at the sound of his kettledrums. Upon the conquest of Bengal, the king Daood took refuge in Orissa, and was pursued by the generals of Akbar, and after more than one revolt, was slain, and Orissa became a province of the Mogul empire.

A.D 1560 A short time previous to this invasion of Bengal by Akbar, the ancient city of Gour, the metropolis of Bengal, was depopulated and abandoned. It was admirably situated on the confines of Bengal and Behar for the government of both provinces. It had been the capital of a hundred kings, who adorned it, more especially those of the Mahomedan creed, with massive and superb edifices. It extended along the banks of the river, and was defended from its encroachments by a stone embankment, said to have been fifteen miles in length. This magnificent city, the abode of wealth and luxury, was suddenly prostrated by some pestilence which has never been explained, and has since been the abode of wild hogs and tigers.

The city of Gour.

The next event of importance in the reign of Akbar was 1586 the conquest of Cashmere, by his brother-in-law, the raja of Jeypore. The king, on his submission, was enrolled among the nobles of the court, and this noble valley, considered the paradise of Asia, which enjoys "a delicious climate, and exhibits in the midst of snowy summits a scene of continual verdure," became the summer residence of Akbar and his successors. The effort to curb the highlanders between the Indus and the passes into Afghanistan, which was next undertaken, proved a more arduous task. These wild mountaineers had been for ages the plague of every ruler of the province. They regarded it as their hereditary vocation to plunder travellers passing through the defiles, and to levy black mail on the industry of

Conquest of Cashmere.

the valleys. Akbar sent a strong army under the raja of Jeypore to subjugate them, but it was assailed in the passes and annihilated; and the Mahomedan historian records that of 40,000 horse and foot, scarcely a man returned. Such wholesale destruction would appear incredible, if we had not witnessed a repetition of it, in the same scenes, under the British Government in 1841. The rajas Toder Mull and Man-sing imposed some restraint on their violence by the establishment of military posts which cut off their supplies from the plains; but they were as troublesome as ever a century after in the reign of Aurungzebe. Soon after, Akbar proceeded to the conquest of Sinde, and reannexed Candahar to the crown; and thus, after a series of conflicts which extended over twenty-five years, he found himself at length undisputed master of his hereditary dominions across the Indus, and of all the territories north of the Nerbudda which had ever belonged to the imperial throne, and it only remained for him to extend his authority over the Deccan. A brief notice of the progress of events in that division of India during the sixteenth century will be a suitable introduction to the expedition which the emperor now undertook.

The Khyberees. A.D. 1586

1591

Sinde and Candahar.

1594

SECTION V.

AKBAR. INVASION OF THE DECCAN. HIS DEATH.

It has been stated in a previous chapter that five independent kingdoms—Beejapore, Ahmednugur, Golconda, Beder, and Berar—arose on the ruins of the Bahmince kingdom. Beder rarely appears on the page of history, and Berar which was never of much weight in the politics of the Deccan, was absorbed by Ahmednugur in 1572. The attention of the kings of Golconda was chiefly directed to the subjugation of the various Hindoo principalities which lay on its eastern frontier, and stretched along the Coromandel coast from Orissa southward. It appears also to have gradually absorbed the Hindoo state of Telingana, with its capital at Warungul, which had assumed independence on the fall of the Bahmince kingdom. Beejapore and Ahmednugur,

The Deccan in the sixteenth century.

which bordered on each other, were engaged in constant hostility. Within the circle of their territories was included the region inhabited by the Mahrattas, which had formerly belonged to the Hindoo kingdom of Deoghur, conquered by Alla-ood-deen in 1295; and the origin and growth of their importance is to be attributed primarily to the training they received in the constant warfare of these princes During the sixteenth century the armies of these two Mahomedan states were constantly recruited by Mahratta soldiers, sometimes to the extent of 20,000. There was not as yet any bond of national unity among them, and they sold their mercenary swords to the highest bidder, without caring whether their own countrymen might not be fighting in the opposite ranks.

But the great event of that century was the extinction of Hindoo power in the Deccan To the south of the Kistna lay the great Hindoo monarchy of Beejanuger, established in 1336, which had maintained a perpetual conflict with the Bahminee dynasty, and subsequently with the kingdoms which arose on its decay. In the early period of the sixteenth century Beejanuger had attained its greatest extent and power. It was enriched by maritime commerce; and all the Hindoo chiefs south of the Kistna—below which the Mahomedans had no footing—were completely under its control, even where they were not under its government. No single state was able to cope with it. The reigning raja, Ram-raj, had recently wrested several districts from Beejapore; he had overrun Golconda, laid siege to the capital, and exacted large concessions from the king. The four Mahomedan kings—Beder still existed—felt the necessity of restraining the growth of his power, and, suspending their mutual jealousies, formed a quadruple alliance against him. It was nothing less than a conflict between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans for the supremacy of the Deccan. Although Ram-raja called up all the strength of his Hindoo feudatories from the south down to its extreme limits, the enumeration of his host by Ferishta appears fabulous. His younger brother is said to have commanded a wing of the army consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 100,000 foot, and 500 elephants. His second brother had another wing of equal strength, while the raja himself led the flower of the army. The confederate force was likewise prodigious, and included 20,000 elephants and 600 pieces of artillery of all calibre. This important battle, known in history as that of Talli-

Beejanuger.

kotta, which lies at a short distance from the Kistna, was fought on the 25th January, 1565, and it resulted in the total defeat of the raja, and the slaughter, as the Mahomedan historians boast, of 100,000 infidels. The raja, seventy years of age, was beheaded in cold blood, and his head was preserved as a trophy at Beejapore, and annually exhibited on the anniversary of his death. The Hindoo power in the south was irretrievably broken, but dissensions among the victors enabled the brother of the raja to retain a fraction of his territory, and to establish his court eventually at Chundergiree, which has been rendered memorable in the history of British India as the town, where, seventy years after the battle of Tallikotta, the descendant of the raja granted the East India Company the first foot of land they ever possessed in India, and on which they erected the factory of Madras. A.D. 1565

At the period of Akbar's invasion of the Deccan, the three Mahomedan princes were those of Beejapore, Golconda, and Ahmednugur. This expedition was, doubtless, dictated by the "lust of territorial aggrandisement;" but, if it had been completely successful, it would have been an unquestionable blessing to the country. Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of the Deccan at this period. Its various kings had no occupation but war, aggressive war without even the excuse of provocation. Scarcely a year passed in which villages were not desolated, and the fair fruits of industry blasted by their mutual hostilities; and the substitution of a single authority, even though despotic, was a real godsend. On the death of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the king of Ahmednugur, four factions arose in the state, the most powerful of which sent an invitation to Akbar, which he accepted at once; but, before the force which he despatched could reach the capital, another revolution placed the government in the hands of Chand Sultana, the aunt of the minor raja. This celebrated woman, the favourite heroine of the Deccan, and the subject of a hundred ballads, determined to defend the city to the last extremity. The Moguls had constructed three mines, two of which she countermined; the third blew up, leaving a large opening in the wall, and her officers prepared to desert the defence. The sultana flew to the spot fully armed, with a drawn sword in her hand, and a veil over her face. Combustibles of every description were thrown into the breach, and so

Akbar's views on the Deccan.

Chand Sultana of Ahmednugur. 1595

heavy a fire was directed upon it, that the assailants were constrained to retire. It is a popular and cherished tradition that, when the shot was exhausted, she charged the guns with copper, then with silver, and lastly with gold. Her allies were now approaching, and the Mogul camp was straitened for provisions. Morad, the son of Akbar, offered to retire upon the cession of Berar,

The sultana cedes Berar.

A.D. 1596 and the sultana, who placed little confidence in her own troops, reluctantly accepted these terms. Within a year the kings of Ahmednugur, Golconda, and Beejapore formed a league to drive the Moguls out of the Deccan, and brought 60,000 troops into the field. An action was fought at Soniput, which lasted two days without any decisive result. Discord broke out among the Mogul officers, and Akbar, 1599 who had resided for fourteen years near the Indus, felt the necessity of proceeding to the Deccan in person. He advanced to the Nerbudda, and sent his son Morad to lay siege to Ahmednugur. The government of Chand Sultana was in a more disturbed state than ever, and, seeing defence hopeless, she felt the necessity of negotiating a peace with the Moguls, when the soldiery, instigated by her enemies, burst into her chamber, and put her to death. The city was stormed and plundered, and the 1600 young king and the royal family were sent prisoners to Gwalior; but the kingdom was not incorporated with the Mogul territories till thirty-seven years later.

Her tragic death.

This was the last political event of any importance in the 1601 reign of Akbar, who returned to the capital in 1601. The last four years of his life were embittered by the misconduct of his eldest son Selim, a violent and vindictive prince, and the slave of wine. He took up arms against his father, but was conciliated by a grant of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He had contracted an inveterate dislike of Abul Fazil, one of the most illustrious and esteemed of the emperor's officers, equally eminent as a general, a statesman, and a historian, to whose classic pen his reign is indebted, in no small degree, for its lasting renown. Selim caused him to be assassinated by a zemindar of Bundlecund. In September 1605, Akbar began to feel the approach of death. The profligacy of Selim had induced an influential body of courtiers to contemplate the elevation of a younger son to the throne, but Akbar assembled them around his dying couch, and in their presence ordered Selim to gird his own scimitar to his side, as a token of the bequest of the empire. Then, addressing

Last four years of Akbar's life.

the assembled omrahs, he asked forgiveness for whatever offence he might have given them, and, after repeating the Moslem confession of faith, expired in the odour of sanctity, though he had lived the life of a heretic. He died at the age of sixty-three, after a reign of forty-nine years. Death of Akbar. A.D. 1605

Akbar is described as "a strongly built and handsome "man, with an agreeable expression of countenance, and "very captivating manners." He was not only the pride of the Mogul dynasty, but incomparably the greatest of all the Mahomedan rulers of India. Few of these princes have ever exhibited greater military talent or personal courage. He never fought a battle which he did not win, or besiege a town which he did not take. Yet he had no passion for war; and he had no sooner turned the tide of victory by his skill and energy, than he left his commanders to complete the work, and hastened back to the more congenial labours of the cabinet. The glory of his reign rests not so much on the extent of his conquests, as on the admirable institutions by which they were consolidated and improved. In the early part of his career he was a devout follower of the Prophet, and, at one time, contemplated a pilgrimage to his tomb, the earnest longing of every Mahomedan. But, about the twenty-fifth year of his reign, he began to entertain latitudinarian views. Rejecting all prophets, priests, and ceremonies, he professed to take simple reason as his guide. The formula of his creed seems to have been: "There is no god but God, and "Akbar is his Caliph." Yet with all his scepticism, he was not without a touch of superstition, of which he afforded an instance by the awe and veneration with which he adored the image of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, when shown to him by the Roman Catholic missionaries. The tendency of his measures was to discourage Mahomedanism. He changed the era of the Hegira; he restrained the study of Arabic, and of Mahomedan theology, and wounded the dearest prejudices of the faithful by prohibiting the beard, though it was enjoined by the Koran. Nothing but the ascendency of his character, and his brilliant success in war and in peace, could have preserved his throne amidst the discontents occasioned by these heterodox proceedings. Amidst a people with whom the persecution of infidels was regarded as a sacred duty, he adopted the principle, not only of religious toleration, but of religious equality, and determined to rest the strength of his throne upon the attach- Character of Akbar.

ment of all his subjects. He secured the loyalty of the Hindoos by inviting them to share the highest civil offices and military commands with those of his own creed. He abolished the jezzia, the odious capitation tax inflicted on unbelievers, rescinded the pilgrim tax, sanctioned the marriage of Hindoo widows, and positively prohibited suttees.

His revenue settlement.

Under the supervision of the Hindoo raja, Toder Mull, the great financier of the age, he remodelled the whole revenue system of the empire, and thus brought to maturity the great plans which Shere Shah in his brief reign of five years had inaugurated. The lands were measured according to a uniform standard, and divided into three classes according to their character and fertility. The demand of the state was fixed, generally, at one-third the produce, and then commuted into money. The settlement was made with the ryots, to the exclusion of all middle-men, and all arbitrary cesses were abolished. The whole empire was divided into fifteen provinces or soobahs, each of which was placed under the authority of a soobadar. He was entrusted with full powers, civil, military and financial, and assisted by a military commander and finance minister, who were accountable to him, though nominated by the crown. Akbar's military system was the least perfect of the departments of the state, and was enfeebled by paying the commanders for their men by the head, which created an irresistible temptation to present false musters, and to fill the ranks with vagabonds. The same organisation which pervaded the state establishments was introduced into every division of the court, and the whole was regulated, to the minutest detail, by the emperor himself. Every department was maintained upon a scale of imperial magnificence, of which there had been no example since the establishment of the Mahomedan power in India. During his progress through the country his camp was a moving city, and the eye was dazzled by the splendid tents of his ministers and officers, and more especially by the royal tents, blazing with ornaments and surmounted with gilt cupolas. A taste for literature was diffused through his court. Translations were made under his directions from the Hindoo classics, and his accomplished courtier, Fiezi, was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists.

Splendour of his court.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF JEHANGEER.

On the death of Akbar, Selim stepped into the throne and assumed the title of Jehangeer, the Conqueror of the World. The great empire to which he succeeded was in a state of profound tranquillity, not disturbed by any insubordination among the public officers nor by foreign aggression. His first measures were judicious and benevolent. He confirmed most of his father's ministers in their posts, remitted some vexatious taxes which had survived his father's reforms, and made arrangements for giving easy access to the complaints of his subjects. He likewise replaced the Mahomedan creed on the coin, and manifested a superstitious obedience to the precepts of the Koran. But the quiet of the realm was speedily interrupted by the rebellion of his son, Khosroo, to whom he had always exhibited a feeling of strong antipathy. The unhappy youth fled to the Punjab, and collected a force of 10,000 men, but was pursued and captured, when the emperor exhibited the brutality of his disposition by causing 700 of his adherents to be impaled alive, while Khosroo was deliberately carried along the line to witness their agonies.

A.D. 1605 Accession of Jehangeer. 1606

The event which exercised the greatest influence on the reign of Jehangeer was his marriage with Noor Jehan, contracted in the sixth year of his reign. This celebrated princess was the daughter of a Persian noble, who had been reduced to poverty, and, following the current stream of emigration, proceeded to India to repair his fortunes. During the journey his wife gave birth to a daughter, under very distressing circumstances. A merchant, who happened to be travelling on the same route, offered them timely assistance, and conveyed them in his own train to the capital. He took the father into his service, and eventually introduced him to the Court of

Noor Jehan.

Akbar, where he rose to considerable eminence. As the daughter grew up, she received all the accomplishments which the metropolis of the empire could provide, and attracted admiration by her exquisite beauty and elegance. In the harem of Akbar, which she visited with her mother, she excited the passion of prince Selim; but as she had been already betrothed to a young and gallant Persian noble, who had acquired the title of Shere Afghan, from having killed a tiger in single combat, the marriage was completed by the orders of the emperor, and a jagcer in the distant province of Burdwan was bestowed on him, to withdraw his wife from the capital. But Jehangeer had no sooner mounted the throne than he determined to remove every obstacle to the gratification of his wishes, and the noble Persian perished in an affray which was not believed to be accidental. His lovely widow was conveyed to the capital, and the emperor offered to share his throne with her; but she rejected his advances with such disdain as to disgust Jehangeer, and she was consigned to neglect in the harem. Reflection served to convince her of her folly, and she contrived to throw herself in his way and to rekindle his passion. The nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary pomp, and she was clothed with honours such as no princess had ever enjoyed before in India. Her name was associated with the emperor's on the coin, and announced in these graceful terms: "By order of Jehangeer, gold acquired a hundred-fold value by the name of Noor Jehan." Her talents for business were not inferior to her personal charms, and her influence was beneficial in softening the emperor's disposition, and producing that reformation in his habits which marked the early years of his reign. Her taste imparted grace to the splendour of the court, while, at the same time, she curtailed its extravagance. Her brother was raised to high office, and her father placed at the head of the administration, which he managed with great ability.

A.D. 1611

Her marriage with the emperor.

The capture of Ahmednugur and the murder of Chand Sultana did not ensure the conquest of the kingdom. A kinsman of the late king was placed on the throne by Malik Amber, the chief of the Abyssinian nobles of the court. He holds the foremost rank in the history of the Deccan monarchies as a statesman and general of surpassing ability. He took entire charge of the administration, and maintained the sinking fortunes of the state for many years with singular energy. Planting himself on the

1610

borders of the Deccan, he repeatedly drove the Moguls across the Nerbudda. Two powerful armies were sent by Jehangeer into the Deccan; one was completely baffled by Malik's peculiar mode of warfare, and obliged to retreat, and the other was too disheartened by this event to advance far. His artillery, which was obtained from the Portuguese in his ports, was greatly superior to that of the imperial army. He availed himself, moreover, of the contingents of the Mahratta chieftains, which served to foster and to mature their military power, and it was under his banner that Shahjee, the father of Sevajee, laid the foundation of the greatness of his family. Malik Amber had no natural passion for military enterprises, though his success in the field has seldom been surpassed. It was his attention to the duties of peace on which his renown rests, and his revenue settlements rival those of the raja Toder Mull. Jehangeer's failure in the Deccan was counterbalanced by his success in Rajpootana. Pertab Sing, the rana of Oodypore, who is still idolized by his countrymen for the heroism with which he repelled the Moguls and eventually regained the provinces they had conquered, was succeeded by his son Omrah, who, though equally valliant, was not equally fortunate. He was attacked by Shah Jehan, the favourite and the gallant son of Jehangeer, and obliged to acknowledge his fealty to the empire. The independence of Oodypore, which had been maintained for eight centuries, was virtually extinguished, for although Shah Jehan, himself of Rajpoot blood on the mother's side, generously restored the territories he had conquered to the fallen rana, it was only as the vassal of the emperor of Delhi.

A.D. 1612

Subjugation of Oodypore. 1614

The tenth year of the reign of Jehangeer was rendered memorable by the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, as the ambassador of James I., to solicit privileges for the East India Company. The result of his embassy will be stated in its place hereafter. Here it may be sufficient to remark that he was fascinated with the oriental magnificence of the court, which completely eclipsed the tinsel pomp of his own master; but he saw little comfort among the people, who were ground down by extortion. The emperor dispensed justice daily in person, but retired in the evening to his cups, which he seldom quitted before his reason was obscured. The different governments were farmed out; the courtiers were universally corrupt, and military discipline was relaxed. There

Sir Thomas Roe. 1615

was a large influx of Europeans at the court; one of the emperor's nephews had embraced Christianity, and the emperor himself had an image of Christ in his rosary.

A.D. 1615 Shah Jehan, the emperor's gallant son, who was married to the niece of Noor Jehan was now declared heir apparent, and sent in the following year to invade the Deccan. The prosperity of Malik Amber had created a feeling of envy at the court, and he was still farther weakened by the desertion of the king of Beejapore. He was constrained, therefore, to cede to Shah Jehan the fortress of Ahmednugur, as well as all the conquests he had made from the Moguls. Within four years he renewed the war, and drove the imperial troops across the Taptee. Shah Jehan was again selected to 1620 command the army, and the usual success attended his arms. Malik Amber was deserted by his own officers, and obliged to purchase peace by a large sacrifice of territory and treasure.

Shah Jehan, heir apparent.

Just at this juncture Khosroo, the brother of Shah Jehan, 1621 died, and his own misfortunes began. Noor Jehan had betrothed her daughter by Shere Afghan on Shahriar, the youngest son of the emperor, and, in the hope of retaining her power under his weak administration, determined to secure the reversion of the throne for him. To remove Shah Jehan out of the way, she persuaded Jehangeer to employ his great military talents in recovering Candahar from the Persians, who had recently conquered it. Shah Jehan was fully aware of the danger of quitting India, and began to stipulate for securities. His request was pronounced treasonable; all his jageers were confiscated, 1622 and he was driven into revolt, and Mohabet, the most eminent of the imperial commanders, was directed to proceed against him. After a partial and indecisive action in Rajpootana, Shah Jehan injudiciously retreated to the Deccan, where he arrived with the loss of his prestige. Malik Amber and the kings of Beejapore and Golconda refused him any assistance; his own troops began to desert his standard, and he retired to Telingana. On reaching 1624 Masulipatam, he marched along the coast up to Bengal, and, having taken possession of that province as well as of Behar, advanced towards Allahabad. Mohabet, who had lost sight of him, on hearing of his progress, hastened from the south to the banks of the Ganges, and Shah Jehan was obliged a second time to fly to the Deccan, but was pursued with such vigour that, seeing his fortunes desperate, he

Intrigues of Noor Jehan.

sought reconciliation with his father, for which he was obliged to give his two sons as hostages.

A new scene now opens in this drama. Mohabet, the greatest subject in the empire, and the prime favourite of the emperor, manifested no disposition to second the wishes of Noor Jehan, and raise her son-in-law, a prince devoid of energy or ability, to the throne, and she resolved on his destruction. A charge of embezzlement during his last expedition was trumped up against him, and he was summoned to the court to answer it. He came, but with a body of 5,000 Rajpoots. He had recently betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman, without having first obtained the usual consent of the emperor. Jehangeer summoned the youth into his presence, and, in a fit of brutal rage, ordered him to be stripped naked and scourged with thorns before the courtiers. Mohabet perceived that his ruin was determined on, and resolved to strike the first blow. The emperor was then on his way to Cabul, and was encamped on the Hydaspes, which the army crossed in the morning on a bridge. The emperor had not recovered from the debauch of the previous night, and remained behind with a slender guard, when Mohabet proceeded to his tent, and seized his person. Seeing himself helpless, he submitted to mount an elephant, together with his cupbearer and his goblet, and to proceed to Mohabet's tent.

A.D. 1625

Noor Jehan's persecution of Mohabet.

Mohabet seizes the emperor.

Noor Jehan crossed the river in disguise the next morning, and joined the army which she led to the rescue of the emperor; but the Rajpoots had broken down the bridge, and she advanced at the head of her troops to a ford which had been discovered, mounted on a large elephant, and fully armed. The struggle was long and deadly. In spite of all her efforts, her troops were precipitated into the stream by the shower of balls, rockets, and arrows which Mohabet's Rajpoots discharged from their vantage ground. Her elephant was assailed with particular violence, and of the numerous missiles aimed at her, one at length struck the infant son of her daughter, whom she carried in her lap. The ford became a scene of universal confusion. The elephant driver was killed, and the elephant was wounded and borne down the stream back to the opposite bank. Her female attendants hastened to the spot, and found the howda, or seat, covered with blood, and the empress employed in binding up the wound of the infant. Noor Jehan yielded to necessity, and joined the emperor

Noor Jehan rescues him.

in his captivity, and affected to be reconciled to Mohabet, who had assumed the command of the army, and marched on to Cabul. There the fertile genius of the empress was employed in cajoling Mohabet and throwing him off his
A.D. guard, while, by a series of skilful manœuvres, she gradually,
1626 and without observation, assembled a body of troops. Seeing his position becoming daily less secure, Mohabet was led to make her offers of submission. She agreed to condone his revolt on condition that he should proceed in pursuit of Shah Jehan, who had fled to Sinde. Mohabet dreaded a reign of weakness under Shahriar, and resolved to join Shah Jehan; and Noor Jehan, on hearing of this defection, ordered him to be hunted through the empire, and set a price on his head. But all her plans of ambition were at once extinguished by the death of the emperor. After his liberation, he proceeded from Cabul to Cashmere, but his constitution was exhausted by a life of indulgence;
Death of Jehangeer. he was seized with a violent fit of asthma, and died on his way to Lahore, on the 28th October, 1627,
1627 in the sixtieth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. He was contemporary with James the First of England. Not only were their reigns of the same duration, but there was a remarkable similarity in their characters. They were both equally weak and contemptible, both the slaves of favourites and drink; and by a singular coincidence, they both launched a royal decree against the use of tobacco, then recently introduced into England and India, and in both cases with equal success.

SECTION II.

SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

1627 ON the death of Jehangeer, Asof Khan, one of the chief ministers of the cabinet, the brother of Noor Jehan, though
Accession of Shah Jehan. he owed his position to her influence, determined, from a patriotic motive, to support Shah Jehan, and invited him to the capital, while at the same time he placed the empress under restraint. Her power expired with the death of her husband, and she retired from the world upon an annuity of twenty lacs a year, and passed the remaining twenty years of her life in cherishing his

memory. Shah Jehan was proclaimed emperor at Agra, and rewarded the instruments of his elevation—Asof Khan and Mohabet—with offices of the highest dignity. His reign was distinguished by a passion for magnificence, A.D. which was developed on the very first anniversary of his 1627 accession, when he was weighed against silver and gold and precious substances; vessels filled with jewels were waved over his head—from the superstitious notion of averting misfortune—and then scattered on the floor for a general scramble. The expense of this festival was computed at a crore and a half of rupees.

The first ten years of his reign were occupied with military operations in the Deccan. The genius of Malik Amber had restored much of its former splendour to the kingdom of Ahmednugur, but he had recently died at the age of eighty, and the country was distracted by factions. The king of Beejapore, Ibrahim Adil Shah, renowned for the grandeur of his buildings, had died about the same time, bequeathing to his successor a flourishing country and an army, reported, not without exaggeration, at 80,000 horse and upwards of 200,000 infantry, sufficiently powerful to cope for years with the whole strength of the Mogul empire. The king of Golconda was employed in extending his authority over his Hindoo neighbours to the east and the south. These three Deccan monarchies had recovered their former limits, and of all the conquests made by Akbar nothing remained to the crown of Delhi but the eastern portion of Candesh and Berar. The war in the Deccan on which Shah Jehan entered in the second year of his reign, was occasioned by the revolt of Jehan Lodi, an Afghan adventurer of low birth, 1628 but great courage and enterprise, who had commanded the imperial troops in the Deccan, but was disliked and mistrusted by the emperor. Suspecting some sinister designs on his part, he marched out of his palace at Agra at the head of 2,000 of his veteran Afghans, with his kettledrums beating a note of defiance, and fought his way to the Deccan, where he was joined by many adherents, and supported by the king of Ahmednugur. The revolt became so serious that Shah Jehan ordered three armies into the field and proceeded in person to the Deccan. The king of Ahmednugur was defeated. Jehan Lodi sought aid of the king of Beejapore and was refused, and he then endeavoured to make his way to Afghanistan, but was brought to bay in Bundlecund, where he fell pierced with

Wars in the Deccan.

wounds, after having performed prodigies of valour at the head of 400 men who adhered to his fortunes to the last.

Moorteza Nizam, of Ahmednugur, after his defeat, had fallen out with his minister Futteh Khan, the son and successor of Malik Amber, and imprisoned him, but, when threatened with disorder and ruin on all sides, restored him to power. The ungrateful Abyssinian rewarded his kindness by putting him and his chief adherents to death, and then, after placing an infant on the throne, offered his submission to the emperor. But Shahjee, the Mahratta chief, who had risen to great importance under Malik Amber, found himself strong enough to set up a new pretender to the throne, and obtained possession of the greater portion of the country. The Deccan was thus as far from being subjugated as ever, and Shah Jehan deemed it necessary to undertake another expedition in person. Shahjee was driven from Ahmednugur, and the whole force of the empire was brought to bear on Beejapore, the king of which had made common cause with Ahmednugur, and now maintained a struggle of five years with the imperial generals. To baffle their efforts, he created a desert for more than twenty miles round his capital, destroying every particle of food and every vestige of forage. Both parties became at length weary of this war, and listened to terms of accommodation. The result of this conflict of eight years may be thus briefly summed up: the kingdom of Ahmednugur was extinguished, after a century and a half of independence; a portion of it was ceded to Beejapore for a tribute of twenty lacs a year, and the remainder absorbed in the Mogul dominions, while the king of Golconda consented to pay an annual subsidy.

Extinction of Ahmednugur.

A.D. 1630

1637

Shah Jehan was soon after gladdened by the recovery of Candahar. Ali Merdan, the governor under the Persians, was driven into revolt by the tyranny of his sovereign, and made over the town and territory to the Moguls. He was taken into the service of Shah Jehan, and employed in many military expeditions beyond the Indus, but his fame rests on the public works he constructed in India, and more especially, on the noble canal near Delhi, which still preserves the grateful remembrance of his name. After several years of repose, the emperor determined to prosecute the dormant claims of his family on the distant regions of Balkh and

Candahar and Ali Merdan.

Budukshan, and he proceeded to Cabul. Ali Merdan and Morad, the emperor's son, reduced Balkh, but it was immediately after overrun by the Uzbeks. Raja Juggut Sing was then sent with 14,000 Rajpoots, and they manifested their loyalty to a just and tolerant government by crossing the Indus, in spite of their Hindoo prejudices, traversing the lofty passes of the Hindoo Coosh, constructing redoubts by their own labour—the raja himself taking an axe like the rest—and encountering the fiery valour of the Uzbeks in that snowy region. Aurungzebe, the emperor's third son, was subsequently sent there, but, after gaining a great victory was obliged to retreat in the depth of winter, and with the loss of the greater part of his army; after which the emperor had the moral courage to relinquish this ill-advised enterprise.

Two years after, the king of Persia, marched down on Candahar, and recaptured it, and Aurungzebe was directed to recover it, but was obliged to retire after having in vain besieged it four months; a second expedition led by him, and a third by his brother Dara, were equally unsuccessful. These failures were followed by two years of tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan completed the revenue settlement of the possessions he had acquired in the Deccan. A.D. 1647 1653 to 1655

The year 1655 marks an important era in the history of Mahomedan India;—the renewal of the war in the Deccan, which continued for fifty years to exhaust the resources of the Mogul empire, and hastened its downfall. During the eighteen years of peace which followed the treaty made with Ibrahim Adil Shah, the king of Beejapore, he had devoted his attention to the construction of those splendid palaces, mausoleums, and mosques by which his reign was distinguished, and to the conquest of the petty Hindoo chiefs in the south. The king of Golconda had punctually paid his subsidy, and manifested every disposition to cultivate the favour of the emperor. The Deccan was tranquil, but in an evil hour Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy, and resolved to efface the disgrace of his repulse from Candahar by the subjugation of its two remaining kingdoms. An unexpected event gave him the desired pretext. Meer Joomla, born of indigent parents at Ispahan, had repaired to Golconda, and amassed prodigious wealth in commerce and maritime enterprises. He was taken into the service of the king, and, having risen to the office of vizier by his extraordinary talents, led the armies to the southern provinces of the

Renewal of the war in the Deccan.

Deccan, and established the royal authority over many of the Hindoo chieftains. While absent on one of these expeditions his son incurred the displeasure of the king, and Meer Joomla, unable to obtain any consideration from him, determined to throw himself on the protection of the Moguls.

Aurungzebe was but too happy to take up the quarrel; and, with the permission of his father, sent a haughty mandate to the king to grant redress to the youth, to which the king replied by placing him in confinement and confiscating all the estates of the family. Shah Jehan ordered his son to enforce compliance with his command by the sword, and he advanced to Hyderabad, now become the capital of the kingdom, with the most friendly assurances. The king was preparing a magnificent entertainment for his reception, when he was treacherously attacked and obliged to seek refuge in the hill fort of Golconda. Hyderabad was plundered and half burnt, and the king was constrained to submit to the humiliating terms imposed on him of bestowing his daughter on one of Aurungzebe's sons with a rich dowry, and paying a crore of rupees as the first instalment of an annual tribute; but the emperor, who had a conscience, remitted a considerable portion of it. Aurungzebe now prepared for a wanton attack on Beejapore. A pretext was found in the assertion that the youth who had recently succeeded to the throne was not the real issue of the late king, and that to the emperor belonged the right of deciding the succession. Aurungzebe suddenly burst upon the territory while the bulk of the army was absent in the Carnatic; two important forts were captured, and the capital was invested. The king was obliged to sue for peace on reasonable terms, which were peremptorily refused, and the extinction of the dynasty appeared inevitable, when an event occurred in the north which gave it a respite of thirty years. News came posting down to the Deccan that Shah Jehan was at the point of death, and that the contest for the empire had begun; and Aurungzebe was obliged to hasten to the capital to look after his own interests.

Aurungzebe's proceedings in the Deccan.

A.D. 1656

His attack on Beejapore.

1657

Shah Jehan had four sons. Dara, the eldest, had been declared his heir and entrusted with a share of the government. He possessed great talents for government, and an air of regal dignity; he was brave and frank, but haughty and rash. Soojah, the second,

Shah Jehan's sons.

though addicted to pleasure, had been accustomed to civil and military command from his youth, and was at this time viceroy of Bengal, which he had governed with no little ability and success for twenty years. Aurungzebe, the third, was the ablest and most ambitious, as well as the most subtle of the family. Morad, the youngest, though bold and generous, was little better than a sot. Dara was a freethinker of Akbar's school. Aurungzebe was a fierce bigot, and courted the suffrage of the orthodox by reprobating the infidelity of Dara. The claims of primogeniture had always been vague and feeble in the Mogul dynasty, and were, moreover, always subordinate to the power of the sword. When therefore four brothers, each with an army at his command, aspired to the throne, a conflict was inevitable.

Soojah was the first in the field, and advanced from Bengal towards Delhi. Morad, the viceroy of Guzerat, seized the public treasury and assumed the title of emperor. Aurungzebe extorted a large sum from the king of Beejapore, and moved northward to unite his fortunes with Morad, whom, with his usual craft, he succeeded in cozening. He saluted him as emperor, and congratulated him on his new dynasty, declaring that, as for himself, he was anxious to renounce the vanities of the world, and proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, as soon as he had succeeded in releasing his father from the thraldom of the godless Dara. Morad was so simple as to give credit to these professions, and their united armies advanced to the capital. Dara prepared to meet both attacks, and sent raja Jey Sing, of Jeypore, and his own son, to oppose Soojah, and raja Jeswunt Sing to encounter Aurungzebe. The selection of two Hindoo generals to command the armies which were to decide the fortunes of the Mogul throne affords the strongest evidence of the principle of fidelity which the generous policy of Akbar and his two successors had inspired in the Hindoo mind. At this juncture, Shah Jehan recovered his health, and endeavoured to resume his authority; but it was too late. Soojah was defeated and obliged to fly to Bengal, and, the year after, was pursued by Meer Joomla, and obliged to seek refuge in Aracan, where he was basely murdered, together with the whole of his family. Aurungzebe defeated the Rajpoot raja at Oojein, and then advanced to Agra, where Dara met him with a superior army, but, contrary to the wise advice of his father, hazarded an

A.D. 1657

Soojah takes the field.

Dara defeats Soojah.

Shah Jehan's recovery.

A.D. 1658 engagement in which he was completely overpowered, and fled. Three days after, Aurungzebe entered the capital in triumph, deposed his father, and mounted the throne.

Shah Jehan deposed.

The character of Shah Jehan is thus described by his native biographer:—"Akbar was pre-eminent as a warrior "and a lawgiver; Shah Jehan for the incomparable "order and arrangement of his finances, and the "internal administration of the empire. But although the "pomp of his court and his state establishments were such "as had never been seen before in India, there was no in- "crease of taxation, and no embarrassment to the treasury." By the general consent of historians, the country enjoyed greater prosperity during his reign than under any previous reign, and it has therefore been characterised as the golden era of the Mogul dynasty. This is to be attributed to that respite from the ravages of war which afforded scope for the pursuits of industry; for though engaged in foreign wars, his own dominions enjoyed uninterrupted repose. He was the most magnificent prince of the house of Baber; but in nothing was the splendour of his tastes more visible than in the buildings he erected. He contributed to the grandeur of many of the cities of India by the construction of noble palaces. It was he who founded the new city of Delhi, in which his castellated palace, with its spacious courts, and marble halls, and gilded domes, was the object of universal eulogy. Of that palace, the noblest ornament was the far-famed peacock throne, blazing with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, the value of which was estimated by one of the European jewellers of his court at six crores of rupees. To him also the country was indebted for the immaculate Taj Mehal, the mausoleum of his queen, the gem of India, and the admiration of the world. But all his establishments were managed with such vigilance and care, that after defraying the cost of his numerous expeditions, he left in his treasury, according to his native biographer, a sum not short of twenty-four crores of rupees, though the annual income of the empire did not exceed thirty.

Character of Shah Jehan.

Aurungzebe having thus obtained possession of the capital and the treasury, threw off the mask. He no longer talked of renouncing the world and becoming a pilgrim, but assumed all the powers of government, and took the title of Alumgeer, the Lord of the World. His father was placed in

Aurungzebe disposes of his brothers.

honourable captivity in his own palace, where he was treated with the greatest respect, and survived his deposition seven years; but Aurungzebe did not consider his throne secure while there remained any member of his family to disturb it. Morad was invited to an entertainment, and allowed to drink himself into a state of helplessness, when he was taken up and conveyed to the fort of Agra. Soojah was chased by Meer Joomla out of India. Dara fled to Lahore, but was driven from thence to Guzerat, where he obtained aid from the governor, and was enabled to advance against the emperor, but was defeated, and sought refuge with the raja of Jun, whom he had formerly laid under great obligations. That ungrateful chief, however, betrayed him to his vindictive brother, who paraded him on a sorry elephant through the streets of Delhi, where he had recently been beloved as a master. A conclave of Mahomedan doctors was convened, who gratified the emperor's wishes by condemning him to death as an apostate from the creed of the Prophet. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant, and his head was cut off and carried to Aurungzebe. His son, Soliman, was betrayed by the raja of Cashmere, and, like his father, was paraded through the streets of the capital, but with his hands bound in gilded fetters; and his noble bearing and his deep calamity are said to have moved the spectators to tears. He and his younger brother, together with a son of Morad, were consigned to death in the dungeons of Gwalior. Morad himself, after a mock trial for some execution he was said to have ordered when viceroy of Guzerat, was likewise put to death.

A.D. 1658 — 1660

Aurungzebe had thus in the space of three years secured, to all appearance, the stability of his power by the confinement of his father, and the destruction of his brothers and their families, when his own life was threatened by a dangerous attack of illness, and his court was filled with intrigues while he lay helpless on his couch. One party espoused the cause of his eldest son, Muazzim, and another that of Akbar, his brother, while the rajah Jeswunt Rao advanced from Rajpootana and Mohabet from Cabul, to liberate and reinstate Shah Jehan. But Aurungzebe, having passed the crisis of the disease, summoned the officers of his court to renew their allegiance to him, and his recovery dissolved all these disloyal projects.

1662

A short time previous to the illness of the emperor,

Meer Joomla, who had been appointed governor of Bengal, assembled a large army and proceeded up the Brumhapooter, for the conquest of Assam, and eventually of China. The capital was reduced without difficulty, but the rains set in with extraordinary violence; the river rose beyond its usual limits, and the whole country was flooded. The supplies of the army were cut off, and a pestilence completed its disasters, while Meer Joomla was obliged to retreat, and was pursued by the exasperated Assamese. He returned to Dacca in disgrace, and died there at a very advanced age, leaving behind him the reputation of the ablest statesman and general of that age of action. In the letter of condolence which the emperor sent to his son, on whom he conferred all his father's honours, he said, "You have lost a father, and I, the greatest and most dan-"gerous of my friends." After the recovery of Aurungzebe, it became necessary for him to send an army to check the devastations of the Mahrattas; and the reader's attention must now be called to the origin and progress of this nation, which rose to dominion on the ruins of the Mogul empire, and for more than a century swayed the destinies of India.

Meer Joomla in Assam.

A.D. 1663

SECTION III.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE MAHRATTAS.

THE country inhabited by the Mahrattas, designated in the Hindoo shasters, Muharastra, is generally considered to extend from the Wurda on the east to the sea coast on the west, and from the Satpoora range on the north down to a line drawn due east from Goa. The salient feature of the country is the Syhadree mountains, called the ghauts, which traverse it from north to south at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles from the sea, and which rise to the height of 4,000 or 5,000 feet above its level. The strip of land along the sea coast is called the Concan. The inhabitants are of diminutive stature, and present a strong contrast to the noble figure of the Rajpoot, but they are sturdy, laborious, and persevering, and distinguished for cunning. "The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, "the Mahratta the most formidable enemy." This mountain region was difficult of access, and its salient points were

Rise of the Mahrattas.

strengthened by fortifications. For centuries the Mahrattas had been known as plodding accountants and managers of villages and districts, and it was not till the sixteenth century that they came to be noticed as soldiers. Their country was comprised within the territories of Beejapore and Ahmednugur, and the two kings, who were incessantly at war with each other, or with their neighbours, were happy to employ the Mahratta chiefs in raising levies of their hardy countrymen, each one commanding his own body of free lances. It was the wars which raged for a century in the Deccan which cradled their military prowess, and no small portion of the national aristocracy trace their origin to the distinction gained in these conflicts and the lands they acquired; but it was chiefly under Malik Amber that they made the most rapid strides to military and political importance. A community of village clerks and husbandmen was transformed into a nation of warriors, and it only required a master spirit to raise them to empire. Such a spirit appeared in Sevajee.

Mallojee Bhonslay was a man of ignoble rank, but a valiant captain of horse in the service of the king of Ahmednugur at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and obtained from the venal court the jageers of Poona, Sopa and some other districts. His son Shahjee inherited the jageers on his death in 1620, and augmented his military force and his importance by a close alliance with Malik Amber. Nine years after he joined the revolt of Jehan Lodi, already mentioned, but deserted his cause when it began to wane, and went over to the Moguls, by whom he was rewarded with the title of a commander of 5,000, and the confirmation of his jageer. Soon after he again changed sides, and on the capture of the young king was sufficiently strong to set up a pretender and obtain possession of all the districts of the kingdom, from the sea to the capital. After a warfare of three years with the imperial troops, he was driven out of the country, and having obtained an asylum at the court of Beejapore, was entrusted with an expedition to the Carnatic. His success was rewarded with the extensive jageers in the vicinity of Bangalore, which he had conquered, and he formed the design of establishing an independent Hindoo kingdom in the extreme south of the peninsula, resigning his Poona jageer to his son Sevajee.

Origin of Shahjee.

A.D. 1620

Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, was born in 1627, and—his father having taken a second wife—was

1627

placed under the tutelage of Dadajee Punt, a Brahmin, who, in conformity with the national usage in a community in which all the chiefs were illiterate, managed the affairs of the estate. Sevajee, who was never able to read or write, became expert in the use of the weapons required in the hills, and in all manly exercises, and an accomplished horseman. He likewise grew up a devout and rigid Hindoo, with a profound veneration for brahmins and a cordial hatred of mahomedans. His young imagination was kindled by the perusal of the national epics, and he longed to emulate the exploits celebrated in them. At the age of sixteen, he formed an association of youths of wild and lawless habits, with whom he engaged in hunting or marauding expeditions, and thus became familiar with every path and defile in the hills. Having trained the inhabitants of his native glens, the Mawulees, to arms and discipline, he commenced his career of ambition at the age of nineteen by capturing the hill fortress of Torna, and the next year erected the fort of Rajgurh, which became his headquarters. These proceedings roused the attention of the king of Beejapore, and Shahjee, to whom the jageer belonged, was called to account for them. He remonstrated with Dadajee Punt, the guardian of his son, who entreated Sevajee to desist from a course which must inevitably bring destruction on the family; but the old man perceived that the purpose of his pupil was not to be shaken, and, worn out with age, disease, and anxiety, sunk into the grave; but just before his death is said to have sent to Sevajee, and advised him to prosecute his schemes of independence, to protect brahmins, kine, and husbandmen, and to preserve the Hindoo temples from violation.

Birth and early life of Sevajee.

A.D. 1643

1646 Captures the fort of Torna

Sevajee immediately took possession of the jageer, and with the treasure which had been accumulated by his guardian, augmented his force, and within two years extended his authority over thirty miles of territory, attacked a convoy of royal treasure and carried off three lacs of pagodas to his eyrie in the mountains. The audacity of these and similar proceedings roused the indignation of the Beejapore monarch, who seized the father Shahjee, and threatened him with death. Sevajee, then twenty-two, entered into a negotiation with the emperor Shah Jehan on his father's behalf, which is believed to have saved him from a cruel death, though he was detained for four years at Beejapore, till the increasing disorders in the Carnatic

1648 Sevajee's acquisitions.

1649

induced the king to release him and send him back to his government. During the period of his father's detention, Sevajee discreetly abstained from further encroachments, but renewed them on his release, and by an act of base treachery, which has inflicted a deep stain on his memory, caused two chieftains of Jowlee to be assassinated.

His intercourse with Aurungzebe.

While Aurungzebe was engaged in hostilities with Beejapore, Sevajee professed himself a devoted servant of the throne of Delhi, and obtained a confirmation of his title to the lands he had wrested from the empire. But no sooner had the prince set his face towards Delhi to secure the crown, than the Mahratta chief began to ravage the Mogul territories. To extend his operations to a more distant sphere, he likewise organised that corps of light horse which afterwards became the scourge of India. At the same time, he took a body of mahomedans into his service, but placed them under Mahratta officers. The success of Aurungzebe's efforts to obtain the throne gave just alarm to Sevajee, and he sent an envoy to Delhi to excuse his incursions and to conciliate the emperor, and offered to protect the Mogul interests in the Concan if they were intrusted to his charge. Aurungzebe considered that the security of these possessions in the Deccan was likely to be promoted by encouraging the Mahratta adventurer, and consented to his occupation of that maritime province; but in his attempt to take possession of it, Sevajee experienced the first reverse he had ever sustained.

A.D. 1657

The court of Beejapore was at length roused to the danger of these incessant encroachments, which had been increasing in audacity for fourteen years, and sent Afzool Khan with a body of 12,000 horse and foot and a powerful artillery to suppress them. He was a vain and conceited nobleman, and Sevajee determined to destroy him by treachery. He professed a humble submission to the king, and offered to surrender all the territories he had usurped if he were allowed to hope for forgiveness. Afzool Khan was thrown off his guard by this flattery, and agreed to give a meeting to Sevajee with only a single attendant. Sevajee performed his religious devotions with great fervour, and advanced with all humility to the interview, and while in the act of embracing Afzool, plunged a concealed weapon into his bowels, and despatched him with his dagger. The troops of the murdered general were suddenly surrounded by a body of

1659

Afzool Khan assassinated.

Mahrattas placed in ambush, and routed with the loss of all their equipments. The success of this stratagem, notwithstanding the atrocity of the deed, obtained the admiration of his countrymen beyond many of his other exploits, and the weapon was carefully preserved as an heirloom in the family. Sevajee followed up his victory by plundering the country to the very gates of the capital. The king then took the field in person, and recovered many of the forts and much of the territory he had lost. The war was protracted for two years with varied success, but generally in favour of the Mahrattas. A reconciliation was at length effected, and a treaty concluded through the mediation of Shahjee, who paid a visit to his son after an absence of twenty years. He congratulated him on the progress he had made towards the establishment of a Hindoo power,
A.D. and encouraged him to persevere in the course he had
1662 begun. At this period, Sevajee, then in his thirty-fifth year, was in possession of the whole coast of the Concan, extending four degrees of latitude, and of the ghauts from the Beema to the Wurda. His army, consisting of 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse, was out of all proportion to his territories and his resources, but he was incessantly engaged in war, and made war support itself by his exactions.

Sevajee being now at peace with Beejapore, let loose his
1663 predatory bands on the Mogul possessions, and swept the country to the suburbs of Aurungabad. The emperor appointed his own maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, with orders to reduce Sevajee to submission. He captured Poona, and took up his residence in the house in which Sevajee had passed his childhood, and the Mahratta chief conceived the design of assassinating the Mogul general in his bed. He got up a marriage procession, and entered the town in disguise with thirty followers, and proceeding unperceived to the palace, suddenly attacked its inmates. The viceroy escaped the assault with the loss of two fingers, but his guards were cut down. Sevajee, baffled in his project, returned to his encampment amidst a blaze of torches. This daring exploit was so completely in harmony with the national character as to be viewed with greater exultation than some of his most famous victories.

Shaista Khan attacks Sevajee.

1664 The operations of Sevajee were now extended to a bolder enterprise. A hundred and fifty miles from Poona lay the city of Surat, the greatest emporium of commerce on the western coast, and two of the firms in the

Attack of Surat.

town were considered the most wealthy merchants in the world at the time. It was, moreover, the chief port to which devout Mahomedans resorted from all parts of India to embark on pilgrimage to Mecca. Sevajee suddenly appeared before it with 4,000 of his newly raised cavalry, and after plundering it leisurely for six days, returned to his capital. He met with no resistance except from the European factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English chief, defended the property of the East India Company, and likewise of the natives under his protection, with such valour and success as to extort the applause of Aurungzebe. It is worthy of note that this was the first occasion on which European soldiers came into collision with native troops, and that the result filled both Hindoos and Mahomedans with astonishment. A.D. 1664

On his return from this expedition, Sevajee heard of the death of his father at the age of seventy, and immediately assumed the title of raja, and struck the coin in his own name. Finding that his power would not be complete unless he could obtain the command of the sea, he had been employed for some time in constructing a navy, and while his troops were employed in ravaging the Mogul territories on land, his fleet was engaged in capturing the Mogul vessels bound to the Red Sea and exacting heavy ransom from the opulent pilgrims. In February, 1665, he secretly drew together a fleet consisting of eighty-eight vessels and embarked with 4,000 troops to Barcelore, then a great trade mart on the Malabar coast, where he obtained large booty, and returned to his capital before it was known that he had left it. On his return, he found that a large Mogul army commanded by the renowned Rajpoot raja Jeysing, and the general Dilere Khan, had entered his territories. Aurungzebe, an intense bigot, had felt greater indignation against Sevajee for obstructing the progress of the devout pilgrims than for any of his audacious assumptions of power, and the largest force yet sent against him now entered his territories, and reduced him to such straits that he was constrained to have recourse to negotiations. They resulted in the memorable "Convention of Poorundur," in which it was stipulated that he should restore all the forts and districts he had taken from the Moguls with the exception of twelve, which he was to retain as a jageer, and that his son Sambajee should hold rank as a noble in the command of 5,000 men. But he dexterously inserted a

Sevajee creates a fleet.

He is attacked by Jeysing and Dilere Khan.

1665

clause in the treaty granting him, in lieu of certain pretended claims on the old Nizam Shahee state, assignments of a fourth and a tenth of the revenue,—termed by him the *Chout* and *Surdeshmookee*,—of certain districts above the ghauts, the charge of collecting which he took on himself. So eager was he to obtain the imperial authority for this grant, that he offered a sum of forty lacs of pagodas for it, and intimated his intention of visiting the emperor at Delhi, and "his desire to kiss the "royal threshold." This is the first mention of the celebrated claim of *chout*, which the Mahrattas marched throughout India to enforce. In the communication which Aurungzebe addressed him on this occasion, no allusion was made to this claim, the insidious tendency, or even the import, of which the imperial cabinet could not comprehend, and Sevajee assumed that the principle was tacitly conceded.

Origin of the Chout.

Sevajee had now entered the service of the Moguls and lost no time in marching with 10,000 horse and foot against Beejapore, though his half-brother commanded the Mahratta contingent in its services. Aurungzebe was gratified with his success and invited him to court, to which he repaired with an escort of 1,500 troops. But he found himself regarded by the emperor in the light of a troublesome captain of banditti, whom it was politic to humour, and he was presented at the durbar with nobles of the third rank. He left the "presence" with ill-concealed indignation, and is said to have wept and fainted away. It became the object of the emperor to prevent his leaving Delhi, and his residence was beleagured, but he contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards and made his escape in a hamper, and reached Rajgurh in the disguise of a pilgrim, with his face smeared with ashes. The Rajpoot commander in the Deccan was not insensible to the influence of money, and Sevajee was thus enabled through him to make his peace with Aurungzebe, who acknowledged his title of raja and even made some addition to his jageer. Having now a season of greater leisure than he had yet enjoyed, he spent the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his government, and nothing gives us a higher idea of his genius than to find a rough soldier, who was unable to read or write, and who had for twenty years been employed in predatory warfare, establishing a form of government and a system of civil polity so well suited to the consolidation of a great kingdom. His military

A.D. 1665 Sevajee at Delhi

1666

Revision of his institutions.

1668 and 1669

organisation, which was equally distinguished for its rigid discipline and its strict economy, was admirably adapted to the creation of a new and predominant power in India.

This was also the most prosperous period of Aurungzebe's long reign. The empire was at peace; the emperor was held in the highest esteem throughout the Mahomedan world, and received complimentary missions from the Scheriff of Mecca, the Khan of the Uzbeks, the king of Abyssinia, and the Shah of Persia. But his restless ambition again kindled the flames of war, which continued to rage, without the intermission of a single year, during the remaining thirty-seven years of his reign, and consumed the vitals of the empire. Finding it impossible to inveigle Sevajee into his power, he issued the most peremptory orders to pursue him to the death. Sevajee prepared for the conflict with unflinching resolution. He opened the campaign by the capture of two important fortresses, and, with an army of 14,000 men, again plundered Surat, where the Company's factors once more covered themselves with renown by their military energy. He overran the province of Candesh, and for the first time levied the *chout* on a Mogul province: in this instance it was simply black mail. Aurungzebe was dissatisfied with the inactivity of his general, and sent Mohabet with an army of 40,000 against Sevajee, who met his opponents for the first time in the open field and gained a complete victory, which elevated the crest of the Mahrattas, and not a little disheartened the Mogul generals.

A.D. 1666 to 1670 — Tranquillity of Hindostan.

War with Sevajee.

1672

The turbulent Khyberees and Eusufzies in Afghanistan, the hereditary enemies of order and peace, had again broken out and defeated the Mogul general in the passes subsequently rendered memorable by the annihilation of a British army. The emperor determined to undertake the subjugation of these incorrigible highlanders in person, and led his army as far as Hussun Abdal, where he left the expedition to his son, who was obliged to content himself with the nominal submission of the tribes, after a bootless warfare of two years. On his return to Delhi Aurungzebe found himself involved in an unexpected and formidable difficulty. Such is the nature of the natives of India, that the peace of the country is liable to be broken any day by the most insignificant cause: the shape of a turban, or the make of a cartridge. On this occasion it was the violence of a single police officer, who insulted a sect of Hindoo fanatics called

Aurungzebe's conflict with the Khyberees and Sutnaramees

1673

A.D. Sutnaramees. Their excitement created an émeute, and the
1676 émeute grew into a revolt. The devotees assembled in thousands, and being joined by some disaffected zemindars, defeated the troops sent against them, and obtained possession of the two provinces of Agra and Ajmere; a general revolt, therefore, appeared imminent. They gave out that they possessed the magic power of resisting bullets, and the imperial troops naturally shrank from an encounter with them, till Aurungzebe wrote out texts of the Koran with his own hand, and attached them to his standards, when the confidence of his troops was revived and the rebellion quelled.

Revival of persecution.

Akbar and his two successors had adopted the wise and generous policy of granting the Hindoos religious liberty and equality, and they served the state as zealously and faithfully as the Mahomedans, even when employed against their own countrymen. The same principle appears to have prevailed in some degree during the early period of Aurungzebe's reign, and he had formed two family alliances with Rajpoot princes; but his defeat in the Khyber, and the revolt of the fanatics, appear to have embittered his temper, and roused a feeling of bigoted animosity. No pains or penalties were inflicted on the Hindoos for the profession of their creed, but they were made to feel that they lay under the ban of the ruling power of the empire. Aurungzebe ordered that no Hindoos should in future be employed in the public service, and
1677 he reimposed the odious poll-tax, the jezzia, on infidels. His measures, however disguised, breathed the spirit of intolerance. The Hindoo temples in Bengal, and even in the holy city of Benares, were demolished, and mosques erected on the sites, and the images used as steps. These bigoted proceedings produced a feeling of disaffection in every province, but it was only in Rajpootana that they created political disturbance. Jeswunt Sing, the faithful Rajpoot general of the emperor, had died in Cabul, and as his widow and family passed through
1677 Delhi, Aurungzebe surrounded their encampment with troops, intending to detain them as hostages. They were rescued by the contrivance of Jeswunt Sing's minister, and conveyed to Joudpore; but this ungenerous treatment of the family of a devoted servant roused the indignation of the high-spirited Rajpoots, and the country was speedily in a blaze. Aurungzebe lost no time in marching into it,
1679 and obliged the rana of Oodypore to make his submission;

Revolt of the Rajpoots.

but on a second revolt, he summoned troops from every direction, and let them loose on the unhappy country. The Joudpore territory was laid waste, villages were de- A.D.
stroyed, families carried into slavery, and the inhabitants 1679
made to feel the extremities of war. The Rajpoots retaliated by plundering the mosques and burning the Koran in Malwa. The alienation of the various tribes was complete. After this period they were often at peace with the empire, and furnished their contingents of troops, whom Aurungzebe was happy to employ as a counterpoise to his Mahomedan soldiers; but that cordial loyalty to the Mogul throne which had for a century made them its most reliable champions, was extinct. It was during these disturbances that the emperor's son Akbar went over to the Rajpoots, and was encouraged by them to assume the title and functions of royalty, and to march with an army of 70,000 men against his father; but he was defeated, and fled to the Mahrattas.

To return to Sevajee. He took advantage of the absence of Aurungzebe in the Khyber, and the death of the king of Beejapore, to annex the whole of the Concan, and likewise of a considerable tract above the ghauts. He had long struck the coin in his own name, and he now determined to proclaim his independence, and to assume all the ensigns of royalty and the pomp of a Mahomedan potentate. After many religious solemnities, 1674
on the 6th June, 1674, he was enthroned at his capital, Rajgurh, and announced himself as the "ornament of the "Kshetriyu race, and lord of the royal umbrella." He was weighed against gold, which was distributed amongst the brahmins, who found to their chagrin that he only weighed ten stone. Two years after he undertook one of the most extraordinary expeditions on Mahratta record, with the object of recovering his father's jageer in the distant south from his brother. Having concluded an armistice with the Mogul general who had charge of the operations against him, by a large douceur, he marched to Golconda with an army of 30,000 foot and 1676
40,000 horse, and extorted a large supply of money and artillery from the king, together with an engagement to cover his territories during his absence, on condition of receiving half his acquisitions in land and money. He then proceeded to pay his devotions at the shrine of Purwuttum. Naked, and covered with ashes, he assumed the character of a devotee, and after having,

Sevajee assumes royalty.

His expedition to the Deccan.

His fanaticism.

for nine days, committed various acts of superstitious folly, which at one time led his officers to doubt his sanity, he resumed the command of his army, which he had sent forward in advance. He swept past Madras, then an unnoticed factory, and captured fort after fort, not excepting even the redoubted fortress of Gingee (pronounced Jinjee) "tenable "by ten men against an army," and at Trivadey, 600 miles from his own territory, met his brother Vencajee. He held possession of Tanjore, and the other jageers bequeathed to him by his father, and refused to share them with his brother, who thereupon occupied them by force, and sent
A.D. his horse to ravage the Carnatic. The dispute between the
1678 brothers terminated in a compromise, by which Vencajee was to retain the jageer, paying half the revenues to Sevajee, while he was to keep possession of all the conquests he had made from Beejapore. He reached Rajgurh after an absence of eighteen months, but no portion of his conquests or of his plunder did he think of surrendering to the king of Golconda.

The next year Aurungzebe sent a formidable army to
1679 besiege Beejapore, and the regent, during the minority of the king, invoked the aid of Sevajee, who laid waste the Mogul territories between the Beema and the Godavery, and subjected the town of Aurungabad to plunder for three days. Meanwhile, his son Sambajee, who had been placed in durance by his father for an attempt to violate the wife of a brahmin, made his escape, and went over to the Mogul general, and was received with open arms; but Aurungzebe ordered him to be sent as a prisoner to his father's camp. Sevajee renewed his exertions for the relief of Beejapore upon a fresh concession of territory; but in the midst of these events, all his plans of ambition were demolished by his death, which happened at Rajgurh, on the 5th April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age. Aurungzebe did not conceal his
1680 satisfaction at the death of his formidable opponent, but he did full justice to his genius. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had "the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have "been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of "India; my armies have been employed against him for "nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always "increasing." That state, at his death, comprised a territory 400 miles in length and 120 in breadth. It was created by his own genius, and consolidated by a com-

Aurungzebe attacks Beejapore.

Death and character of Sevajee.

munion of habits, language, and religion among his countrymen. He is one of the greatest characters in the native history of India, greater even than Hyder Ali and Runjeet Sing, who subsequently trod the same path of ambition and conquest. He did more than simply found a kingdom; he laid the foundation of a power which survived the decay of his own family, and he kindled a national spirit of enthusiasm which in a few years made the Mahrattas the arbiters of the destiny of India.

SECTION IV.

AURUNGZEBE TO MAHOMED SHAH.

AURUNGZEBE having now in a great measure subdued the opposition of the Rajpoot tribes, determined to bring the whole strength of the empire to bear on the subjugation of the Deccan. It was a wanton and iniquitous aggression, and, by a righteous retribution, recoiled on himself, and led to the downfall of his dynasty. In the year 1683 he quitted Delhi, which he was destined never to see again, with an army of unexampled magnitude. The finest cavalry was assembled from the countries beyond and within the Indus, supported by a large and well-equipped body of infantry, and several hundred pieces of artillery, under European officers. A long train of elephants, intended both for war and equipage, and a superb stud of horses accompanied the camp. There was, moreover, a large menagerie of tigers and leopards, of hawks and hounds without number. The camp, which resembled a large moving city, was supplied with every luxury the age and country could provide. The canvas walls which surrounded the emperor's personal tents were twelve hundred yards in circumference, and they contained halls of audience, courts, cabinets, mosques, oratories, and baths, all adorned with the richest silks and velvet and cloth of gold. There is no record of such extravagant luxuriousness in any modern encampment. Yet, amidst all this grandeur, the personal habits and expenditure of the emperor exhibited the frugality of a hermit. With this unwieldy army Aurungzebe advanced to Aurungabad, and, by a strange infatuation, signalised

Aurungzebe proceeds to the Deccan.

A.D. 1683

Invasion of the Concan.

his arrival in the Deccan by ordering the hateful jezzia to
A.D. be imposed on the whole Hindoo population. His first
1684 expedition was disastrous. His son Muazzim was sent to lay waste the Concan with 40,000 calvary; the little forage that was to be found in the rocks and thickets of that wild region was speedily destroyed; the Mahratta cruisers intercepted the supplies sent from the Mogul ports; the Mahratta light horse blocked up the passes, and prevented the approach of provisions; and the wreck of this noble army, exhausted by hunger and pestilence, was happy to find shelter under the walls of Ahmednugur.

Aurungzebe then sent his son to attack Beejapore, and in this the last year of its national existence, the king and his troops defended their independence with exemplary courage. They cut off the supplies of the Mogul army, intercepted its communications, and obliged it to retire. On the failure of this expedition the emperor turned his force against Golconda, the king of which had formed an alliance with the Mahrattas. His chief minister was a Hindoo of singular ability, and had equipped an army of 70,000 men for the defence of the country; but the employment of an infidel gave offence to the bigoted Mahomedan courtiers. The minister was murdered, and Ibrahim Khan, the general, treacherously went over to the enemy with a large portion of the army. The helpless king sought refuge in the fort of Golconda; the capital, Hyderabad, was plundered for three days by the Mogul soldiers, whom their commander was unable to restrain, and the treasure which Aurungzebe had destined for his own coffers was, to his great chagrin, partitioned among them. The king was obliged to sue for
1685 peace, which was not granted him without the promise of two crores of rupees.

Invasion of Beejapore and Golconda.
1685

Aurungzebe now brought his whole strength to bear upon Beejapore. The lofty walls of the city were of hewn stone
1686 six miles in circumference, with a deep moat and a double rampart. The artillery was, as it had always been, superior to that of the Moguls, and the emperor was constrained to turn the siege into a blockade. The garrison was reduced to a state of starvation and obliged to capitulate; and on the 15th October Beejapore was blotted out of the roll of Indian kingdoms, after an independent career of a hundred and fifty years. This Adil Shahee dynasty employed its resources in works of utility or magnificence which were without a rival in

Conquest of Beejapore and Golconda.

India. The majestic ruins of the palaces in the citadel, and of the mosques and tombs in the city, after two centuries of decay in an Indian climate, still attract the admiration of the traveller. "The chief feature in the scene is the mausoleum of Mahomed Adil Shah, the dome of which, like the dome of St. Peter's, fills the eye from every point of view, and though entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonises with the wreck and desolation around it. One is at a loss in seeing these ruins, to conjecture how so small a state could have maintained such a capital." The fate of Golconda was not long delayed. Aurungzebe, with his usual craft, advanced into the country on pretence of a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint, and extracted from the fears of the monarch all his treasure, even to the jewels of the seraglio, and then charged him with the crime of having employed a brahmin for his minister and formed an alliance with the infidel Mahrattas. The prince, though addicted to pleasure, defended his capital with a heroism worthy his ancestors, but it was at length taken, though only by an act of treachery, and the royal house of Kootub Shah became extinct, A.D. after a brilliant career of a hundred and seventy years. 1687

The ambition of Aurungzebe was now consummated. His power was extended over regions which had never submitted to the sovereignty of the Mahomedans, Confusion in and after seven centuries, the whole of India did the Deccan. unequivocally acknowledge the supremacy of a Lord Paramount. The year 1688 was the culminating point of Moslem grandeur, and likewise of its decay. The misfortunes of Aurungzebe commenced with the fall of Golconda. The 1688 governments which had maintained public order in the Deccan had disappeared, and no system of equal vigour was established in their stead. The public authority had been maintained in the extinct states by a force of 200,000 men; the Mogul force on their subjugation did not exceed 34,000. The disbanded soldiery either joined the predatory bands of the Mahrattas, or enlisted under disaffected chiefs. There was no vital energy at the head-quarters of the emperor. Oppressions were multiplied, and no redress could be obtained. The Deccan became a scene of general confusion, and presented a constant succession of conspiracies and revolts which consumed the spirit of the Mogul army, and the strength of the empire.

Sevajee's son Sambajee, succeeded to the throne after much 1680

intrigue and opposition, and at first exhibited considerable vigour and method, but it was not long before he gave way to the ferocity of his natural disposition. He had none of his father's qualifications except his ardent bravery. He put his widow to death, and imprisoned his brother Raja Ram; he threw the ministers into irons, and beheaded those who opposed his wishes, and proceeded so far as to execute a brahmin. These atrocities alienated the great men who had contributed to build up the Mahratta power. Sambajee rendered himself still farther an object of general contempt by his infatuated attachment to a favourite, Kuloosha, a Canouge brahmin, a man totally unfitted for the conduct of public affairs, which was entrusted to him. In the early period of his reign he took an active share in driving Prince Muazzim out of the Concan. He was engaged for several years in endeavouring to reduce the power of the Portuguese, but without success, and was incessantly in conflict with the forces of Aurungzebe. He formed an alliance with the king of Golconda, and, to create a diversion in his favour, plundered the cities of Boorhanpore and Broach, and likewise despatched bodies of Mahratta horse to the relief of the capital, but they acted without vigour. In fact, under his inefficient rule, the discipline introduced by Sevajee had been relaxed and the morale of the army deteriorated. On the extinction of the two Mahomedan powers of Beejapore and Golconda, Aurungzebe directed his whole attention to the reduction of his remaining opponent, and fort after fort was captured, while Sambajee abandoned public business, and resigned himself to sloth and pleasure. One of the emperor's generals, at length, succeeded in surprising him after a night's revel, and he was conveyed on a camel to the imperial presence. The emperor at first deemed it politic to spare his life to secure the surrender of the Mahratta fortresses, and asked him to turn Mahomedan. "Not if "you would give me your daughter in marriage," was his reply, pouring at the same time a torrent of abuse on the Prophet. Aurungzebe ordered his tongue to be cut out, deprived him of his sight, and consigned him to death with excruciating torture. He had occupied the throne for nine years, amidst the contempt of his subjects, but his tragic death excited emotions of pity amongst them, and gave a keener edge to their detestation of the Mahomedans.

Sambajee's reign and cruel death.

A.D. 1681 1684 1688 1688 1689

The Mahrattas were now exposed to the whole power of

the Mogul empire under the immediate eye of the emperor, whose personal reputation, together with the grandeur of his establishments, and the prestige of the imperial throne, filled them with a feeling of awe, and they bent to the storm. The cabinet elected Shao, the infant son of Sambajee, to succeed him, and appointed his uncle, Raja Ram, regent. Of the great kingdom founded by Sevajee, there was only a mere vestige left in the north, and it was resolved to preserve the embers of Mahratta power by emigrating to the south. Raja Ram and twenty-five chiefs made their way in disguise to the Mahratta jageers in Tanjore with many romantic adventures carefully preserved in the ballads of the nation, and established the Mahratta court at Gingee. The regent soon after despatched two of his ablest generals with a large force, which was increased in its progress, to desolate the Mogul territories in the north, and they extended their ravages up to Satara, where Ram-chundur was left in charge of the Mahratta interests. He devised a new plan for molesting the Moguls. Among the Mahrattas the thirst for plunder was always the strongest national passion; indeed, the only word for "victory" was "the plunder of the enemy." To this predatory spirit he gave an extraordinary impulse, as well as a systematic direction, by conferring the right to levy the "*chout*" and the "*tenth*" for the state treasury on any Mahratta chieftain who could bring his followers into the field, and allowing them to appropriate the new exaction he invented of *ghaus dana*, or food and forage money, to their own use. Under this new impetus, every mountain glen and valley poured forth its tenants, and Aurungzebe, instead of having the army of a single responsible chief to deal with, had a hundred-headed hydra on his hands.

The Mahratta Court retires to Gingee. A.D. 1689 1690 New exactions of the Mahrattas. 1692

The imperial army was ill-fitted to contend with this new swarm of assailants. Its silken commanders were not the iron generals of Akbar, and they vied with each other only in the display of extravagance. The spread of effeminate luxury had eaten up the spirit of enterprise, and there was nothing they desired so little as the sight of an enemy. There was a total relaxation of discipline. The stipend of the commanders was regulated by the number of their men, and not only was it never honestly maintained, but the ranks were filled up with miserable recruits, totally unable to cope with the Mahratta soldiers, accustomed to hard fare

Comparison of the Mogul and Mahratta armies.

A.D. and harder work. "The horse without a saddle," as the army
1692 was aptly described, "was rode by a man without clothes;
"footmen inured to the same travail, and bearing all kinds
"of arms, trooped with the horse; spare horses accompanied
"them to bring off the booty and relieve the wounded or
"weary. All gathered their daily provision as they passed.
"No pursuit could reach their march. In conflict their
"onset fell wherever they chose, and was relinquished even
"in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames
"before their approach was known, as a terror to others to
"redeem the ravage."

The rallying point of the Mahrattas at this time was the fort of Gingee, the siege of which lasted as long as the siege of Troy. Zoolfikar Khan, the ablest of the Mogul generals, was sent against it, but he was too often in collusion with the Mahratta chiefs. It was during the langnor of the siege that Suntajee, the Mahratta general, having defeated the imperial forces in the
1697 north, and augmented his army, appeared before it with 20,000 horse. The besieging army was besieged in its turn, and Cam-buksh, the son of the emperor, the nominal commander-in-chief at the time, was driven to conclude a humiliating convention. It was disallowed by Aurungzebe, who recalled his son and sent Zoolfikar Khan, a third time to command the army, but as he was again in communication with the garrison, the siege was protracted till the emperor threatened him with degradation if it was not successful. The fort was then assailed in earnest, and fell, but Zoolfikar connived at the escape of Raja Ram, who
1698 made his way to his native mountains, and selected Satara as the capital of the Mahratta power. He was able in time to collect a larger army than Sevajee had commanded, and he proceeded to collect what he termed the "Mahratta dues" with vigour, and the settlement of the Deccan was as distant as ever.

Siege of Gingee.

To meet the increasing boldness of the Mahrattas,
1699 Aurungzebe separated his army into two divisions, one to be employed in protecting the open country, the other in capturing forts. The first he entrusted to Zoolfikar, who repeatedly defeated the Mahrattas, but was unable to reduce their strength, and they always appeared more buoyant after a defeat than his own troops after a victory. Aurungzebe reserved to himself the siege of the forts, in which he was incessantly employed
1701 for five years. It is impossible to withhold our admira-

Plans of Aurungzebe.

tion of the spirit of perseverance exhibited by this octogenarian prince during these campaigns in which he was subjected to every variety of privations. Amidst all these harassing operations his vigour was never impaired. All the military movements in every part of the Deccan, in Afghanistan, in Mooltan, and at Agra were directed by the instructions he issued while in the field. With indefatigable industry he superintended all the details of administration throughout the empire, and not even a petty officer was appointed at Cabul without his sanction. But all his energy was unable to cope with the difficulties which were accumulating around him. The Rajpoots were again in open hostility, and other tribes, emboldened by his continued absence, began to manifest a spirit of insubordination. The treasury was exhausted by a war of twenty-five years' duration, and the emperor was tormented with incessant demands for money, which he was unable to meet. The Mahrattas became more aggressive than ever, and in every direction around his camp, north and south, east and west, nothing was seen but the devastation of the country and the sack of villages. In these deplorable circumstances he made overtures to the Mahrattas, and offered them a legal title to the *chout* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the Deccan, but they rose in their demands, as might have been expected, and the negotiations were thus broken off. The imperial camp began to retire to Ahmednugur closely followed by the Mahrattas, who plundered up to its very precincts, and converted the retreat into an ignominious flight. Twenty years before Aurungzebe had marched from his capital in all the pride and pomp of war; he was now returning to it in a state of humiliation, with the wreck of a broken army, pursued by a victorious foe, and he expired at Ahmednugur on the 27th February, 1707.

A.D. 1705

He treats with the Mahrattas.

1706

His death. 1707

Of all the princes of the house of Baber, Aurungzebe is the greatest object of admiration to the native historians, and his name is invested even among Europeans with an indefinite idea of grandeur, but the illusion vanishes on a close inspection of his biography. Few characters in Indian history, whether amongst its Mahomedan or English rulers, have been more overrated. The merit of his personal bravery, his civil administration, and of his attention to business will be fully admitted, but for twenty-five years he persisted in a war of intolerance and aggression, though he must have been aware that it was sapping

Remarks on his reign.

the foundations of the empire. He had no heart and no friend; he was crafty and suspicious, and often cruel; he mistrusted all his officers, and they repaid him by precarious loyalty. Notwithstanding his manifest abilities, the rapid decay of the empire dates from his reign, and may in some measure be traced to his personal character.

On the death of Aurungzebe, his son, prince Azim, came in to the encampment, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and marched towards the capital. At the same time, the eldest son, Prince Muazzim, who had been nominated heir to the empire, was hastening to Delhi. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Agra, and Prince Azim was defeated and fell in action. Prince Akbar was a fugitive in Persia, and the remaining son of Aurungzebe, Cam-buksh, who was assembling troops in the Deccan, was defeated by Zoolfikar Khan, with the aid of a Mahratta contingent, and there ceased to be any rival to the throne which Prince Muazzim ascended at the age of sixty-seven, with the title of Bahadoor Shah.

Bahadoor Shah
A.D. 1707

The Mahrattas were unable to take advantage of these distractions by their internal dissensions. Raja Ram, the regent, died soon after his return to Satara, and the government was administered for seven years by his widow Tara Bye, in the name of her own son. The lineal heir, Shao, the son of Sambajee, was a captive in the Mogul encampment, but treated with great kindness. Prince Azim, when starting for the capital, had released him, and afforded him the means of asserting his rights, on condition of his doing homage to the Mogul throne. Tara Bye proclaimed him an impostor, and collected an army to resist his claims, but he obtained possession of Satara and in 1708 assumed the functions of royalty. In this family contest, the Mahratta sirdars espoused opposite sides, and drew their swords on each other. In the course of five years the son of Tara Bye died; her minister superseded her authority and placed another son of Raja Ram on the throne of Kolapore, which became the capital of the junior branch of Sevajee's family, and the rival of Satara. Bahadoor conferred the viceroyalty of the Deccan on Zoolfikar, the chief instrument of his elevation, and as his presence was required at court, the administration was left in the hands of Daood Khan, a noble Patan, famous throughout the Deccan for his matchless daring and his love of strong drink, of whom

1700 Discord among the Mahrattas.

1708 Rival house of Kolapore.

it is recorded that when he visited Madras, Mr. Pitt, the father of the first Lord Chatham, the governor, gave him a grand entertainment in the council chamber, and that the Patan "pledged the chief largely in cordial waters and "French brandy, amidst a discharge of cannon." By the desire of his master, he granted to the Mahratta the concession of the *chout* on the six soobahs of the Deccan, which Aurungzebe in his extremity had offered them, and this arrangement, though made by a subordinate authority, kept them quiet to the end of the reign. The tranquillity of Rajpootana was secured by the same spirit of conciliation and concession to its three principal chiefs of Oodypore, Jeypore, and Joudpore. A.D. 1708

The emperor was now called to encounter a new enemy in the north—the Sikhs. About the end of the fifteenth century, Nanuk, the founder of their religious community, taught that devotion was due to God alone, that all forms were immaterial, and that the worship of the Hindoo and the Moslem was equally acceptable to the Deity. The sect increased in numbers, but was fiercely persecuted by the bigoted Mahomedan rulers, who massacred their pontiff the year after the death of Akbar. In 1675, Gooroo Govind, the tenth spiritual successor of Nanuk, conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a military as well as a religious commonwealth. He abolished all distinction of caste, but required every member of the society to be pledged as a soldier from his birth or his initiation, and to wear a peculiar dress and to cultivate his beard. He inculcated reverence for brahmins and prohibited the slaughter of cows. This union of martial and religious enthusiasm rendered the Sikhs a formidable body, and they had to maintain an arduous struggle with the Mahomedans, who captured the strongholds of the Gooroo, murdered his mother and sisters, and mutilated, slaughtered, or dispersed his followers. Still the sect grew and multiplied, and towards the close of Aurungzebe's reign, under a formidable chief of the name of Bandoo, extended its depredations to the vicinity of Delhi. Bahadoor Shah took the field against them and drove them back to the hills. The Sikhs. 1675 1710

On his return from this expedition he died at Lahore, after a brief reign of five years, at the age of seventy-two. His death was followed by the usual scramble for power among his four sons, three of whom were defeated and killed. The survivor 1712 Death of Bahadoor Shah and Jehander Shah.

mounted the throne with the title of Jehander Shah, and put all the members of the royal family within his reach to death; he resigned himself to the influence of a dancing girl, and indulged in the most degrading vices. His career
A.D. was cut short by his nephew, Ferokshere, the viceroy of
1713 Bengal, who marched up to Delhi, and deposed and murdered the wretched emperor, as well as the noble but crafty Zoolfikar.

Ferokshere, the most contemptible, as yet, of the princes of his line, mounted the throne, and for six years disgraced it by his vices, his weakness, and his cowardice.
Ferokshere. He owed his elevation to two brothers descended from the Prophet, and thence denominated the Syuds. Abdoolla, the eldest, was appointed vizier, and his brother, Hoosen Ali, commander-in-chief, but the emperor held them in detestation, and his reign was little else than a series of machinations to destroy them. Hoosen Ali was sent against the Rajpoot raja of Joudpore in the hope that the expedition would prove fatal to him; but he concluded an honourable peace with the prince and induced him to give the hand of one of his daughters to the emperor. The nuptials, which were celebrated with great splendour, were rendered memorable by an incident which will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

The office of viceroy of the Deccan had been bestowed
1714 on Ghazee-ood-deen. The family had emigrated from Tar-
Nizam-ool-moolk. tary to seek its fortunes in India, and he had risen to distinction in the service of Aurungzebe, who granted him the title of Cheen Killich Khan, to which was now added that of Nizam-ool-moolk. He was a statesman of great ability and experience, but of still greater subtilty. During the seventeen months in which he held the office of viceroy he fomented the dissensions between the houses of Kolapore and Satara. Shao had been brought up in all the luxury of a Mahomedan seraglio, and was fonder of hunting, hawking, and fishing than of the business of the state. The Mahratta commonwealth was falling into a
Ballajee Wishwanath. state of anarchy, when the genius of Ballajee Wishwanath placed the party of Shao in the ascendant, and rekindled the smouldering energies of the nation. Ballajee, a brahmin, was originally a simple village accountant, but rose through various gradations of office till he became a power in the state, and was appointed Peshwa, or prime minister. It was to his energy that the rapid expansion of the Mahratta power is to be

attributed, and he may justly be regarded as the second founder of its greatness.

With the view of separating the two brothers, the Syuds, from each other, Feroksheré displaced Nizam-ool-moolk, and appointed Hoosen Ali viceroy of the Deccan. At the same time he sent secret instructions to the renowned Daood Khan to offer him the most strenuous opposition, and he rushed at once into the field, and attacked him with such impetuosity as to disperse his army like a flock of sheep; but in the moment of victory he was killed by a cannon ball, and the fortune of the day was changed. His devoted wife, a Hindoo princess, stabbed herself on hearing of his death. Hoosen Ali, flushed with his success, took the field against the Mahrattas, whose depredations had never ceased, but was completely defeated. In these circumstances, distracted by Mahratta encroachments on the one hand, and on the other by the hostility and intrigues of the emperor, he entered into negotiations with Ballajee Wishwanath which resulted in a convention as disgraceful to the Mogul throne, as it was fortunate for the Mahratta state. Shao was acknowledged as an independent sovereign over all the dominions which had belonged to Sevajee. The *chunt* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the six soobahs in the Deccan, which were valued at eighteen crores—their assumed product in their most palmy state—were conferred on him, together with the tributary provinces of Tanjore, Mysore, and Trichinopoly, on condition that he should furnish a contingent of 15,000 troops, and be responsible for the peace of the Deccan. This was the largest stride to power the Mahrattas had yet achieved. They were furnished with a large and permanent income by these assignments on districts stretching from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, and from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, the collection of which gave them a right of constant and vexatious interference with the internal adminstration of every province. An army of Mahratta officers, chiefly brahmins, was planted throughout the country with indefinite powers of exaction for the state, which they did not fail to turn also to their own profit.

Hoosen Ali. A.D. 1716

His concessions to the Mahrattas. 1717

Feroksheré was advised to disallow the convention, and the breach between him and the Syuds became wider. Abdoolla called up his brother, who hastened to the capital, accompanied by 10,000 Mahrattas under Ballajee, and entered it without opposition. The emperor made the most abject submission, but was dragged

Death of Feroksheré. 1718

from the interior of the zenana, where he had taken refuge, and assassinated. Two puppets were then placed on the throne, but they disappeared in a few months by disease or poison, and a grandson of Bahadoor Shah was raised to
A.D. 1719 Accession of Mahomed Shah. the imperial dignity, and assumed the title of Mahomed Shah, the last who deserved the name of emperor of India. Weak and despicable as Ferokshere had been, his tragic death created a feeling of compassion throughout the country. The popular indignation against the Syuds was increased, and they found themselves the mark of universal execration; but the great object of their alarm was Nizam-ool-moolk, who, though he had been united with them in opposition to Ferokshere, was now alienated from their cause. He marched across the Nerbudda with a large force into the Deccan, where he had many adherents both among the Mahrattas and the Mahomedans, defeated two armies sent against him, and remained master of his position. Meanwhile, Mahomed Shah was fretting under the yoke of the Syuds, and, under the discreet guidance of his mother, formed a confederacy among his nobles to relieve himself from it. Distracted by the difficulties which accumulated around them, they resolved that Hoosen Ali should march against Nizam-ool-moolk, taking the emperor with him, while Abdoolla remained at
1720. Delhi to look after their common interests. Five days after the march commenced, a savage Calmuk, instigated by the confederacy, approached the palankeen of Hussun Ali, under the pretence of presenting a petition, and stabbed him to the heart. In the conflict which ensued the partizans of the emperor were victorious, and he returned to Delhi. Abdoolla, whose energy rose with his danger, set up a new emperor and marched against Bahadoor Shah, but was defeated and captured, though his life was spared in consideration of his sacred lineage.

Hussun Ali assassinated.

SECTION V.

MAHOMED SHAH TO NADIR SHAH'S INVASION.

MAHOMED SHAH entered Delhi with great pomp, a free
1720. monarch, a twelvemonth after he had ascended the throne; but his reign, though long, was marked by the tokens of rapid decay. The canker worm was at the root of the august Mogul throne, and

Proceedings of Mahomed Shah.

every year disclosed its ravages. He abolished the odious jezzia, and bestowed high appointments on the rajas of Jeypore and Joudpore; but the rana of Oodypore, wrapped up in his orthodox dignity, refused all intercourse with the court and sank into obscurity. Saadut Ali, a Khorasan merchant, who had taken an active share in the recent proceedings, was appointed soobadar of Oude, and laid the foundation of the royal dignity, which was extinguished in 1856. Origin of Saadut Ali, Soobadar of Oude. A.D. 1720

The office of vizier was reserved for Nizam-ool-moolk, who repaired to the capital, but found the emperor immersed in pleasure, and so indifferent to the interests of the state as to have given the custody of the imperial signet to a favourite mistress. He endeavoured to rouse him to a sense of his responsibilities at a time when the empire was crumbling around him, but the emperor rejected all advice, and joined his dissolute companions in turning to ridicule the antiquated habits and solemn demeanour of the venerable statesman, then in his seventy-fifth year. Disgusted with the profligacy of the court, and despairing of any reform, he threw up his office and returned to his government in the Deccan. The emperor loaded him with honours on his departure, but instigated the local governor at Hyderabad to resist his authority; but he was defeated and slain, and the Nizam fixed on that city, the capital of the Kootub Sahee dynasty, as the seat of his government, and from this period may be dated the origin of the kingdom of the Nizam. Nizam-ool-moolk. 1723 1724

Ballajee had accompanied Hoosen Ali with his troops to Delhi, but made his submission to Mahomed Shah, and obtained from him a confirmation of the grants which had been made by the Syud Hoosen, and returned to Satara with these precious muniments, fourteen in number, and died soon after. The political arrangements he made before his death established the predominant authority of the eight brahmins who formed the cabinet, and it was likewise extended throughout the interior, by means of the brahmin agents employed to collect "Mahratta dues." He was succeeded by his son Bajee Rao, who had been bred a soldier and a statesman, and "united the enterprise, vigour, and "hardihood of a Mahratta chief with the polished "manners and address of a Concan brahmin." The interest of the succeeding twenty years in the history of India centres in the intrigues, the alliances, and the conflicts of Ballajee Wiswanath's acquisitions and death. 1720 Bajee Rao and his movements.

the Mahratta statesman at Satara, and the crafty old Taftar, Nizam-ool-moolk, at Hyderabad, who made peace and war without any reference to the authority of the emperor at Delhi. Bajee Rao felt that unless employment could be found abroad for the large body of predatory horse who formed the sinews of the Mahratta power, they would be employed in hatching mischief at home. Fully aware of the weakness of the empire, he urged on his master, Shao, "to strike the trunk of the withering tree; the branches
A.D. "must fall off of themselves. Now is our time to drive
1724 "strangers from the land of the Hindoos. By directing our "efforts to Hindostan the Mahratta flag shall float, in "your reign, from the Kistna to the Attock." But Shao had been bred in the luxuriance of a Mogul seraglio, and Bajee Rao, finding his ardour ill-seconded by his effeminate sovereign, was constrained to act for himself; and thus the house of the Peshwa waxed stronger, and the house of Sevajee weaker.

Affairs of Guzerat.

Nizam-ool moolk, while vizier, had appointed his uncle, Hamed Khan, governor of Guzerat, in opposition to the court, and Sur-booland Khan was sent to expel him. Hamed defeated him with the aid of two Mahratta commanders, whom he had rewarded with a grant of the *chout* and the *tenth* of the revenues of the province. Bajee Rao took advantage of this discord to send Sindia, Holkar, and Puar, of Dhar, to levy contributions in Malwa, while he himself proceeded on the same errand to Seringapatam in the south. Alarmed by the increasing audacity of the Mahrattas, Nizam-ool-moolk endeavoured to renew the dissensions of the rival houses of Kolapore and Satara. They were at issue for their respective shares of the assignments granted to the Peshwa on the revenues of the six soobahs of the Deccan; and the Nizam, as the representative of the emperor, called on them to substantiate their claims before him. Bajee Rao, indignant at this attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Mahratta commonwealth, assembled an army and marched against him, and though the Nizam was supported by a large body of
1727. Mahrattas, he was driven into a position which constrained him to enter upon negotiations. The Peshwa, having his eye upon the course of proceedings in Guzerat, granted him favourable terms. Sur-booland had succeeded in establishing his authority in that province, and the Peshwa was negotiating with him to obtain for himself the grant of the

Dissensions between Kolapore and Satara.

chout and the *tenth* which Hamed Khan had the two Mahratta generals. To expedite the sent his brother to ravage the country, and the Mogul governor was obliged to purchase peace by conceding his demands. While Bajee Rao was thus engaged, Sambajee, the ruler of Kolapore, crossed the Wurda and laid waste the territories of Shao. He was defeated, and obliged to sign an acknowledgment of his cousin's right to the whole of the Mahratta dominions, with the exception of a small A.D. tract of country around Kolapore, to which this branch of 1730 Sevajee's family was to be confined. The principality still exists, while the kingdom of the elder branch has been absorbed in the British Empire. The Nizam now found a new instrument of mischief in Dhabaray, the Mahratta commander-in-chief, who was mortified to find that the prize of the *chout* and other dues he had obtained from Hamed in Guzerat, had been carried off by the Peshwa. Under the instigation of the Nizam, he proceeded with an army of 33,000 men towards Satara, on the pretence of releasing his master, Shao, from the tyranny of Bajee Rao, but 1731 he was defeated, and fell in action. The Mahratta interests in Guzerat were then entrusted to Peelajee Gaikwar, whose immediate ancestor was a cowherd, and whose descendants still occupy the throne of Baroda.

To this period also belongs the rise of the families of Holkar and Sindia, destined to play an important part in the subsequent politics of India, and whose descendants continue to wear the crowns they acquired. Mulhar Rao Holkar was the son of a herdsman who exchanged the crook for the sword, and by his daring courage recommended himself to Bajee Rao, by whom he was entrusted with the very agreeable charge of levying contributions in eighty-four villages in Malwa. Ranojee Sindia was of the caste of husbandmen, and entered the service of Ballajee as a menial, but was introduced into his body-guard, and became one of the foremost of the Mahratta chieftains in that age of enterprise. Like Holkar, he was sent to establish the Mahratta authority in Malwa, and these assignments became the nucleus of their future dominions. Rise of Sindia and Holkar.

After the defeat of Dhabaray, the Nizam was, to a certain extent, at the mercy of Bajee Rao, but they both perceived that it would be for their common interest to come to an understanding, and they entered into a secret compact, which stipulated that the Bajee Rao's incursions in Hindostan.

A.D. Nizam's territories should not be molested, while Bajee Rao
1731 should be at liberty to plunder the Mogul territories in the north. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and laid waste the province of Malwa. The imperial governor was at the time employed in coercing a refractory chief in Bundlecund, who called in the aid of Bajee Rao, and rewarded his services by the cession of a third of the province of
1732 Jhansi, and thus the Mahratta standard was for the first time planted on the banks of the Jumna. The government of Malwa was then bestowed on the Rajpoot raja Jeysing, whose reign was rendered illustrious by the patronage of science, the erection of the beautiful city of Jeypore, with its palaces, halls, and temples, and its noble observatory. The profession of a common faith promoted a friendly
1734 intercourse between him and Bajee Rao, the result of which was the surrender of the province to the Mahratta, with the tacit concurrence of the helpless emperor.

These multiplied concessions only served, as might have been expected, to inflame the ambition and to increase the demands of the Peshwa. Great as were the resources of the Mahratta commonwealth, the larger portion of the revenues was absorbed by the different feudatories, and only a fraction reached the treasury at Satara. The magnitude of Bajee Rao's operations had involved him in debt; his troops were clamorous for pay, and the discipline of the army necessarily suffered by these arrears. He demanded of the imperial court a confirmation of the assignments granted by Sur-booland Khan on the revenues of Guzerat, of the rights he had acquired
1736 in Bundlecund, and the absolute cession of the rich province of Malwa. The feeble cabinet at Delhi endeavoured to pacify him by minor grants, which only led him to increase his claims, and he proceeded to demand the cession of all the country south of the Chumbul, together with the holy cities of Muttra, Benares, and Allahabad. To quicken the apprehensions of the emperor, he sent Holkar to plunder the Dooab, the province lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, but he was driven back by Saadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude. This was magnified into a great victory, and it was reported that the Mahrattas had been obliged to retire. "I was compelled," said Bajee Rao, "to
1737 "tell the emperor the truth, and to prove to him that I was "still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and the Mah-"rattas at the gates of his capital." He therefore took the field in person, and marching at the rate of forty miles a

His increased demands.

day, suddenly presented himself before the gates of Delhi. The consternation in the capital may be readily conceived; A.D. but the object of Bajee Rao was not to sack the city, but 1737 to intimidate the emperor into concessions, and circumstances rendered it advisable for him to retreat to Satara.

The Mahrattas now appeared to be paramount in India, and the Nizam was considered the only man who could save the empire from extinction. He listened to the overtures of the emperor and proceeded to Delhi, where he was invested with full powers to call out all the resources of the state; but they were reduced to so low a point that the army under his personal command could only be completed to 30,000 men, with which he returned to the south. Bajee Rao crossed the Nerbudda with 80,000 men. Owing, perhaps to his great age—ninety-three—perhaps to over confidence in the great superiority of his artillery, the Nizam entrenched himself near Bhopal. Bajee Rao adopted the national system of warfare, laid waste the country, intercepted all supplies, attacked every detachment which ventured beyond the lines, and on the twenty-fifth day of the siege obliged the Nizam to sign a humiliating treaty, granting him the sove- 1738 reignty of Malwa and the territories up to the Chumbul, and engaging to use his influence to obtain from the imperial treasury the sum of half a crore of rupees, which he had not ceased to demand; but that treasure was to find a very different destination.

Defeat of the Nizam by Bajee Rao.

It was in the midst of these distractions that Nadir Shah appeared on the banks of the Indus, and India was visited with another of those tempests of desolation to which it had been repeatedly subject for some centuries. The Persian dynasty of the Sofis, which had occupied the throne for nearly two centuries, was subverted in 1720 by the Ghiljies, the most powerful tribe in Afghanistan. Shah Hossen, the last of that royal line, was besieged by them in his capital, Ispahan, then in the height of its prosperity, and after enduring for six months the extremities of misery and starvation, went out with his court in deep mourning to the Afghan camp, and surrendered his crown to Mahmood, the Afghan chief. He died at the end of two years, and was succeeded by his son Asruf. Nadir Shah, the greatest general Persia has produced, was the son of a shepherd of Khorasan, and commenced his career by collecting a band of freebooters. Finding himself, at length, at the head of a

Nadir Shah.

powerful army, he freed his native province from the Afghans, and then constrained the Ghiljie monarch to
A.D. resign all his father's conquests in Persia. He raised
1729 Thamasp, the son of the dethroned Sofi king, to the throne; but after expelling the Turks and the Russians from the provinces they had conquered, deposed Thamasp and be-
1731 stowed the nominal sovereignty on his infant son, while he himself assumed the title of king, upon the importunity, as it was affirmed, of 100,000 nobles, soldiers, and peasants
1736 whom he had assembled on a vast plain To find employment for his troops and to gratify his own ambition and avarice, he carried his arms into Afghanistan, and resolved to re-annex Candahar to the Persian throne. While engaged in the siege of that town he sent a messenger to Delhi to demand the surrender of some of his fugitive subjects, but, owing to the distraction of the times, the claim was
1738 neglected. A second messenger was murdered at Jellalabad. The Government of India had from time immemorial paid an annual subsidy to the wild highlanders who occupied the passes between Cabul and Peshawur, and the imperial cabinet doubtless trusted to their power to arrest the progress of Nadir. The payment of this black mail had, however, been for some time withheld, and they opened the gates of India to the Persian monarch, who crossed the Indus with 65,000 of his veteran troops and overran the Punjab before the court of Delhi was aware of his approach.

The emperor Mahomed Shah marched to Kurnal to meet this invasion, but experienced a fatal defeat, and proceeding to the Persian camp, threw himself on the compassion of the conqueror. The object of Nadir Shah was treasure and not conquest, and it is affirmed that he was prepared to retire on the payment of two crores of rupees; but Saadut Ali, the soobadar of Oude, having some cause of offence with the emperor, represented to the Persian that this was a very inadequate ransom for so rich an empire, and that his own province alone could afford this sum. Nadir resolved, therefore, to levy exactions under his own eye. He entered Delhi in March, and on the
1739 succeeding day a thousand of his soldiers were massacred upon a report of his death. He went out to restore order, but was assailed with missiles, and one of his chiefs was killed by his side, upon which he issued orders for a general massacre. For many hours the metropolis presented a scene of rapine, lust, and carnage, and 8,000 are said to

Capture of Delhi, and massacre.

have fallen victims to his infuriated soldiery. Yet so complete was the discipline he had established that every sword was sheathed as soon as he issued the order. He took possession of all the imperial treasures, including the peacock throne; plundered the nobles, and caused every house to be sacked, sparing no cruelty to extort confessions of wealth. From the disloyal Saadut Ali he exacted the full tale of two crores, and the traitor terminated his existence by poison. The governors of other provinces were not spared; and Nadir Shah, after having thus subjected the capital and the country for fifty-eight days to spoliation, and feeling satisfied that he had exhausted the wealth of the empire, prepared to retire with an accumulation of thirty-two crores of rupees. He restored Mahomed Shah to the throne, but annexed all the provinces west of the Indus to the crown of Persia. On his departure he issued a proclamation to the princes of India, stating that he was now proceeding to the conquest of other regions, but that if any report of their having revolted from "his dear "brother, Mahomed Shah," reached his ears, he would return and blot their names out of the book of creation. A.D. 1739

The Mogul power, which had been in a state of rapid decay since the death of Aurungzebe, received its death blow from the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the sack of the capital. The empire was breaking up into fragments, and the authority and the prestige of the throne was irrecoverably gone. The various provinces yielded only a nominal homage to the crown. All its possessions beyond the Indus were permanently alienated. In the extreme south of the peninsula the Mogul sovereignty was a matter of history. The Nabob of the Carnatic acknowledged no superior. The rest of the Deccan was shared between the Nizam and the Mahrattas. In the provinces of Guzerat and Malwa, the power of the Peshwa was already predominant. The allegiance of the princes of Rajpootana was very vacillating. The viceroys of Oude and Bengal, the richest provinces of India, acknowledged the emperor as their suzerain, but yielded him no obedience. Even in the vicinity of the capital, new chiefs were, as the native historian remarks, "beating the "drum of independence." The house of Baber had accomplished the usual cycle of Indian dynasties, which seldom exceeded two centuries, and its sceptre was now to pass into the hands of a company of European merchants, with the sea, and not Central Asia, for the base of its enterprise. State of India.

Having thus reached the period when the Mogul throne ceased to exercise any influence on the politics of India, we turn to the progress of the European settlements on the continent, and to the history of the East India Company, which began its career with a factory, and closed it by transferring the Empire of India to the Crown of England.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION I.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

FOR five centuries the tide of Mahomedan invasion had rolled across the Indus from Central Asia, and spread from north to south. A new era now dawns upon us, ushered in by the appearance of a European fleet, and the progress is, henceforth, from south to north. The Mahomedans entered India in the spirit of conquest; the Europeans came in search of trade. The productions of the East had, from time immemorial, been a great object of desire to the inhabitants of the West, who had been accustomed to obtain them through many circuitous channels. In the middle ages the trade had enriched the republics of Venice and Genoa, and a general anxiety was created to obtain direct access to India. During the fifteenth century the spirit of maritime adventure was strongly developed in Europe, and more especially in the small but spirited kingdom of Portugal, in which great progress had been made in the science of naval architecture. This spirit was warmly encouraged by its sovereigns, who fitted out a succession of expeditions, and gradually advanced along the coast of Africa, making fresh discoveries in each voyage. At length, John II. sent three vessels, under the command of Bartholomew Dias, to discover the southern limit of the African continent. He was the first navigator to double the Cape, where the tempestuous weather he encountered led him to designate it "The Cape of Storms"; but his delighted sovereign, hoping to reach India by

A.D. 1486 Discovery of the Cape.

this route, more appropriately called it the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after, Christopher Columbus, the enterprising Genoese sailor, convinced that India was to be discovered by sailing west, offered his services to king John, but they were not accepted, and he proceeded on his adventurous expedition under the auspices of the king of Spain, and the continent of America was discovered in 1492.

Eleven years elapsed after Dias had rounded the Cape before any attempt was made to improve the discovery. King John was succeeded by Emanuel, who entered on the field of enterprise with great ardour, and in 1497 fitted out three vessels in the hope of finding a way to India from the Cape. The little fleet, consisting of vessels of small tonnage, was entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who A.D. quitted Lisbon, after the performance of religious solem- 1497 nities, on the 8th July, 1497, amidst the acclamations of the king, the court, and the people. Having reached the Cape in safety, he launched out boldly into the unexplored Indian Ocean, where, while traversing three thousand miles, nothing but the sea and the sky was visible for twenty-three days. He sighted the Malabar coast in May, Discovery 1498, and brought his enterprise to a glorious of India. issue as he cast anchor off the town of Calicut. It lay 1498 in that portion of the Deccan which the Mahomedan arms had not reached, and belonged to a Hindoo prince styled the Zamorin, who gave the Portuguese commander an honourable reception, and at once granted him the privilege of trade in his dominions. But the commerce of the Malabar coast, with its fifty harbours, had hitherto been monopolised by the traders from Egypt and Arabia, who felt no little jealousy at the arrival of these interlopers, and having gained over his minister, persuaded the Zamorin that the Portuguese were not the merchants they represented themselves to be, but pirates who had escaped from their own country, and had now come to infest the eastern seas. The feelings of the prince were at once changed to hostility, and Vasco, after a residence of several months on the coast, seeing little hope of an amicable intercourse, set sail on his return. He entered the Tagus, after an absence of twenty-six months, on the 29th of 1499 August, 1499, in regal pomp, and received the homage of the court and the people, who crowded to the beach to admire the vessels which had performed this wonderful voyage. It was six years and a half after Columbus had astounded the nations of Europe by the discovery of the New World,

that Vasco increased their amazement by announcing the discovery by sea of the way to India, the region of fabulous wealth.

The king of Portugal lost no time in following up the enterprise, and immediately fitted out an expedition, which consisted of thirteen ships and 1,200 men, the command of which was given, not to Vasco, but to Cabral, who was, however, well qualified for the undertaking. He was accompanied by eight friars, and directed to carry fire and sword into every province which would not receive their teaching. After launching into the Atlantic, his fleet was driven, in 1500, by the violence of the wind, to the coast of South America, where he discovered, and took possession of, Brazil, which has ever since remained an appanage of Portugal. On the 13th of September he anchored off Calicut, and having restored the hostages who had been taken away by Vasco, was graciously received by the Zamorin, and obtained permission to erect a factory. But the Mahomedan traders effectually prevented his obtaining any cargoes, and he seized one of their richest vessels, and having transferred its contents to his own ships, set it on fire. An attack was immediately made on his factory, and fifty men were killed. Cabral resented it by capturing and burning ten other vessels, after he had taken possession of their cargoes. He then cannonaded the town from his fleet, and sailed to the neighbouring port of Cochin, where he formed an alliance with the chief, a dependent of the Zamorin, and returned to Lisbon.

Second expedition—Cabral.

A.D. 1500

The disasters which Cabral had encountered induced the officers of state to advise the abandonment of these enterprises, but the king was ambitious of founding an oriental empire, and having obtained a bull from the Pope conferring on him the sovereignty of all the countries visited by his fleets in the East, he assumed the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce "of Ethiopia, Persia, Arabia, and India." A third expedition, consisting of fifteen vessels, was fitted out and entrusted to Vasco de Gama, who, on his arrival at Calicut, demanded reparation for the insult offered to Cabral, which was peremptorily refused, and he set the town on fire. He then proceeded to the friendly port of Cochin, where he left Pacheco with a handful of men to protect the Portuguese factory, and unaccountably set sail for Europe. The Zamorin of Calicut marched to the attack of Cochin for

Second voyage of Vasco.

1502

having harboured the Portuguese, and invested the factory, but though his troops exceeded those of Pacheco by fifty to one, they were ignominiously defeated, and the superiority of European to Asiatic soldiers, which has ever since been maintained, was now for the first time exhibited, and the foundation was laid for European ascendancy in India. A.D.

In 1505, the king of Portugal sent out Almeyda with 1505
the grand title of viceroy of India, though he did not possess a foot of land in it. Almeyda had to encounter a new and more formidable opponent. Almeyda.
The Venetians, who had hitherto monopolised the lucrative trade of India, regarded with a jealous eye the attempts of the Portuguese to divert it into a new channel round the Cape. The bulk of the commerce which had made their island the queen of the Adriatic and the envy of Europe, was conveyed through Egypt, where they enjoyed a paramount influence, and they prevailed on the Sultan to send a fleet down the Red Sea to sweep the interlopers from the coast of India, and assisted him with naval materials from their forests in Dalmatia. The king of the maritime province of Guzerat was equally alarmed at the growing power of the Portuguese on the sea, and sent his ships to co-operate with the Egyptian fleet. They came up with a portion of the Portuguese fleet in the harbour of Choul, and defeated it. Young Almeyda was killed in the action; his father determined to avenge his death, and, finding that Dabul, one of the greatest commercial marts on the coast, had taken part with the Egyptian fleet, reduced it to ashes, with great slaughter. He then proceeded in Naval search of the combined fleets, and found them actions.
anchored in the harbour of Diu, and obtained a splendid 1508
victory over them; but he stained his reputation by the massacre of his prisoners to avenge the death of his son.

He had been previously superseded by Albuquerque, sent out by the court of Lisbon to take charge of the Portuguese interests in India. He was a man of great Albu-
enterprise and boundless ambition. He attacked querque.
the town of Calicut, but lost a fourth of his force in the assault. He came to the conclusion that, instead of these desultory attacks in which the Portuguese had hitherto been engaged, it would be more advisable to make a permanent establishment on that coast, in some port and town which would afford a safe harbour for their ships, and become the citadel of their power. He fixed on Goa, on

the coast of Canara, situated on an island twenty-three miles in circumference, and one of the most valuable ports on that coast. It thus became the metropolis of the Portuguese dominions in India, and every effort made from time to time to capture it by the native princes proved unavailing. He now assumed the position of an eastern prince, and received embassies with oriental pomp. He proceeded to the remote provinces in the Malay archipelago, where he established his authority, and carried his commercial enterprises to Siam, Java, and Sumatra. His efforts were next directed to the west, and he obtained possession of Ormuz, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf. The genius of Albuquerque had thus in the course of nine years built up a great European power in the East. He appeared rather to eschew than to court territorial possessions, but his power throughout the eastern seas was irresistible, and his authority was supreme along 12,000 miles of coast, on which he had planted thirty factories, many of which were fortified. But his last days were clouded by the ingratitude of his country. In the midst of his triumphs he was superseded by the intrigues
A.D. of the court; the reverse broke his heart, and he died
1515 as he entered the harbour of Goa. He was interred in the great settlement which he had established, amidst the regrets of Europeans and natives, by whom he was equally beloved.

During the whole of the sixteenth century the maritime power of the Portuguese continued to be the most formidable in the eastern hemisphere, and the terror of every state on the sea-board. They took possession of the Island of Ceylon, and in 1517 proceeded to China, and established the first European factory, at Macao, in the Celestial Empire. In 1531 they equipped an armament of 400 vessels, with an army of 22,000 men, of whom 3,600 were Europeans, and captured Diu, which, though lost for a time, was regained. In 1537 the king of Guzerat implored the Grand Seigneur to assist him in freeing India from the presence of the infidels, and a large fleet, with 7,000 Turkish soldiers on board, was fitted out at Suez, and being joined by the Guzerat army, 20,000 strong, laid close siege to Diu. Sylviera, the commander, had only 600 men for its defence, but he sustained the siege, amidst the deepest privations, with European gallantry, for eight months. The assailants, driven to despair, were obliged to withdraw, and the fame of the foreigners who had baffled the united forces of the Sultan of Turkey and the king of

The Portuguese sixteenth century.
1517
1531
1537

Guzerat was diffused through India. The most memorable event in the annals of Portuguese India was the combination formed for their expulsion by the kings of Ahmednugur and Beejapore and the Zamorin of Calicut. The siege of Goa, which they undertook, lasted ten months, but was at length abandoned after the confederates had lost 12,000 men. The king of Bengal, pressed by Shere Sing, in 1538 sent an embassy to Goa to implore the aid of the Portuguese Governor-General, who despatched nine armed vessels with troops to his assistance. This was the first introduction of Europeans into the valley of the Ganges. The Portuguese established a factory at a place called the Gola, or granary,—subsequently designated Hooghly,—and completely drew off the trade of the province from the neighbouring town of Satgang, which had been the great mercantile emporium of Bengal for fifteen centuries. The factory grew to be a flourishing town, adorned with numerous churches, and so strongly fortified, that when the Moguls subsequently attacked it with three armies, they were unable to carry it by storm, but were constrained to have recourse to mines.

A.D. 1570

1538

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the greatness of the Portuguese had reached its zenith, they were encountered, and eventually supplanted by a European rival. The Dutch, having thrown off the yoke of Spain, entered upon a career of maritime enterprise with extraordinary ardour. In 1596 they sent an expedition round the Cape to the eastern islands, which returned laden with spices and other valuable commodities, and gave so great a stimulus to the spirit of commerce that, within five years, forty vessels, of from four to six hundred tons burden, were embarked in the trade. They gradually wrested the spice islands and Malacca and the island of Ceylon from the Portuguese, but not without many a sanguinary conflict. An expedition, undertaken jointly by the king of Persia and the East India Company, deprived the Portuguese of Ormuz, and within a century and a half of the arrival of Vasco de Gama there remained nothing to the crown of Portugal of its eastern possessions but Goa, Mozambique, and Macao in China. The commerce of the Dutch lay chiefly with the eastern archipelago; on the continent of India they never possessed more than a few factories.

Rise of the Dutch and decay of the Portuguese.

1596

SECTION II.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE great advantages which the trade of India had conferred on the Portuguese and Dutch inspired the French with a desire to participate in it, and several attempts were made to acquire a commercial footing in the East during the first half of the seventeenth century, but without success. At length, the great minister, Colbert, who had created the French navy and harbours, took up the matter, and established the French East India Company. Its first enterprise was directed to the island of Madagascar, but it was abandoned, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate and the hostility of the natives, and the Company took possession of the uninhabited island of Bourbon and of the larger island of the Mauritius in its vicinity. In April, 1674, Martin, the earliest of the French colonists, and a man of remarkable energy, having obtained a grant of land on the Coromandel coast from the native prince, laid the foundation of the town of Pondicherry, which he was permitted to fortify. Three years later it was threatened by Sevajee in his southern expedition, which has been noticed in a previous chapter, but was saved by the tact of Martin. War broke out at length between Holland and France, and the Dutch, envious of the prosperity of Pondicherry, sent a fleet of nineteen vessels against it. Martin was obliged to capitulate, and all hope of establishing French power on that coast appeared to wither away. The Dutch improved the fortifications and rendered it one of the strongest fortresses in India, but four years after were obliged to restore it by the treaty of Ryswick. Martin, with his usual energy, strengthened the works, and attracted native settlers by his honest dealings and his conciliatory manners; and on the spot which he had occupied thirty-two years before with six European settlers, there had grown up at the period of his death a noble town with 40,000 inhabitants. The charter of the Company was cancelled in 1719, and it was absorbed in the schemes of Law, of Mississippi notoriety. On the collapse of his project, the Company was re-organised as a commercial association; the town gradually recovered its prosperity, which had been affected by the extinction of the Company, and was

The French East India Company.

A.D. 1674

Erection of Pondicherry.

1676

1719

embellished by the taste of its governors, who also rivalled the native princes in the state they now assumed. A.D.

M. Dumas was appointed governor of Pondicherry in 1735. He united great energy of character with, what is so rarely found among Europeans in India, a genial disposition, which in an eminent degree conciliated both the native princes and the people. 1735

Dumas, governor of Pondicherry.

Rughoojee Bhonslay, the raja of Berar, poured down with 50,000 Mahratta troops, and Dost Ali, who had become nabob of the Carnatic amidst the confusion of the times, endeavoured to arrest his progress, but was signally defeated and fell in battle. His son, Sufder Jung, and his son-in-law, Chunda Sahib, prevailed on M. Dumas to grant them and their families and property an asylum at Pondicherry, the strongest fortress on the coast. He received them in princely state, surrounded by his horse and foot guards, and they and their cortege entered the gates of the town under a royal salute. Soon after Sufder Ali made his peace with the Mahrattas, upon an engagement to pay a crore of rupees, and was installed nabob of the Carnatic without any reference to the emperor, or even to his representative in the Deccan, Nizam-ool-moolk. His family was withdrawn from Pondicherry, but the family and the wealth of Chunda Sahib remained under the protection of the French ramparts. Rughoojee Bhonslay, disappointed of this treasure, sent a force of 16,000 men to demand the payment of sixty lacs of rupees and the surrender of Chunda Sahib's family. Dumas had organised a body of 1,200 Europeans and 4,000 or 5,000 native troops—the germ of a sepoy army—and he received the envoy with courtesy, and after showing him over his military stores and equipments, and drawing up his force, desired him to assure his master that so long as a single Frenchman was left there would be no surrender. The resolute character of Dumas, and the resources of the garrison, made a deep impression on the Mahratta prince, but it was French cordials rather than French bayonets that carried the day. M. Dumas sent by the envoy a present of French liqueurs to Rughoojee, who gave them to his wife, and she was so delighted with them as to insist on a further supply. The desire to gratify her, combined, doubtless, with a reluctance to risk an assault on a fortress of European strength, led to a negotiation which ended in the retreat of the Mahrattas. M. Dumas was congratulated by the native princes of India on his successful resistance 1740

Rughoojee Bhonslay.

of the redoubted Mahrattas, and the emperor conferred on him and his successors the title of nabob, and the rank of a commander of 4,500 horse.

Dumas was succeeded by Dupleix, a man of extraordinary genius, and one of the most illustrious statesmen in the annals of French India. He had acquired a large fortune in trade before he was appointed Intendant of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Hooghly, where a French factory had been established in 1676. It had never flourished, while the English factory at Calcutta had been rising in wealth and importance, but the creative genius of Dupleix in the course of ten years made it one of the most opulent European factories in Bengal. At the period of his assuming the charge of the town not more than half-a-dozen small coasting craft were to be seen at the landing-place; before his departure seventy vessels were engaged in trade to Yeddo, to Mocha, to Bussorah, and to China. He established agencies in the great marts in the interior, and his transactions were extended to Thibet. He surrounded the town with fortifications, and assisted in the erection of two thousand houses. He was appointed to the government of Pondicherry in October, 1741, and well knowing that in the East the pomp of state is always an element of political strength, made such a display of magnificence, and exacted such deference as an officer of the Mogul Empire, as to dazzle the princes and people of the Deccan, and to augment the reputation of French power. His first attention was given to the improvement of the fortifications, but before they were completed he was informed by the Directors of his company that war between France and England was imminent; and, moreover, that they would be unable to supply him with money, ships, or soldiers. At the same time he learned that a large naval squadron was ready to sail from England, while he could only muster 436 European troops, and had only a single vessel of war at his disposal. In this emergency he determined to invoke the aid of the native princes whose friendship his predecessors had assiduously cultivated, and to solicit Anwar-ood-deen, who had been appointed nabob of the Carnatic by Nizam-ool-moolk, to lay an injunction on the governor of Madras to abstain from any aggression on the French settlement. The governor considered it prudent to obey the order. The anxieties of Dupleix were likewise relieved by the arrival of Labourdonnais with a powerful

Energy of Dupleix.

A.D. 1741

War between France and England.

1746

1746

French fleet. This officer, a man of singular enterprise, had been for several years governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, and had raised the islands by his energy and ability to a state of the greatest prosperity. He found the greater part of the Mauritius on his arrival covered with an almost impenetrable jungle, and inhabited by a sparse and indolent population. He created magazines and arsenals, barracks and fortifications; he erected mills, quays, and aqueducts, and gave the settlement that importance in the operations of his nation, which it maintained for nearly seventy years; but the value of all his noble qualities was impaired by his pride and arrogance. The two fleets were not long before they came to an engagement. A.D. 1746

The conflict between the French and the English in India, which began with this naval battle in 1746, forms an important era in its modern history. Hitherto, the European settlements dotted around the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, content with the peaceful pursuits of commerce, had taken no share and little interest in the revolutions of power in the interior, and in the rise and fall of states. Down to the present time, moreover, while the French and English nations were often at war in Europe, during seventy years their Indian settlements lay peaceably side by side. But the scene was now changed. The governors of the two Companies embarked in a struggle for supremacy, embodied native troops and imported regiments from Europe, directing their attention more to the operations of war than of commerce, and, in more than one instance, fighting to the death in India after peace had been restored in Europe. They formed alliances and were drawn into conflicts with the native princes, which served to demonstrate the vast superiority of European soldiers over native troops, and this led to the rapid acquisition of political influence in the country, and, by an inevitable consequence, to the possession of territory. Within the brief period of eleven years after the two European powers had fired the first shot at each other, the French had acquired the undisputed authority of a territory in the south, containing a population of thirty-five millions, and in the north the English had the supreme command of provinces exceeding in area and population the whole of Great Britain. Result of the conflict.

The two fleets met in July, 1746. The action was indecisive, but the English admiral, on the plea that one of his ships stood in need of repairs, sailed away to the south 1746

and left Madras, which he had been sent out to protect, at the mercy of the French. The little hamlet on which the British ensign was planted in 1639, had in the course of a century expanded into a town with a native population of between one and two hundred thousand. The fortifications of Madras, which had never been very substantial, were now dilapidated, and of the small garrison of two hundred Europeans few had ever seen a shot fired. Against this defenceless town Labourdonnais advanced with a large fleet, 1,100 European troops, and 800 native sepoys and Africans. The President, after a decent resistance, surrendered it, and Labourdonnais held it at ransom for a sum of about sixty lacs of rupees; but Dupleix asserted that as long as the English held possession of the settlement, Pondicherry could not be expected to flourish, and he was determined to extinguish all English interests on the coast. The violent altercations which arose between these two able but inflexible men may be readily imagined. Meanwhile, the monsoon set in with exceptional violence, and the French fleet suffered to such an extent as to oblige Labourdonnais to return to the islands to refit. Dupleix immediately annulled the convention he had made with the president of Madras, and conveyed all the European officers prisoners to Pondicherry. Labourdonnais retired to France, where he was followed by the accusations of Dupleix and of the enemies he had made, and was thrown into the Bastile, where he lingered for three years, and, though released when the charges against him were disproved, died of a broken heart.

Capture of Madras.

SEPT. 21ST, 1746

1753

On the approach of the French armament, the president of Madras, in his turn, had appealed to the nabob of the Carnatic, as Dupleix had done, and prevailed on him to prohibit any attack on the town. Dupleix, however, found little difficulty in persuading him to withdraw the injunction by promising to make over the settlement to him when it was captured, but after he had obtained possession of it it appeared too valuable a prize to be relinquished. The nabob was irritated beyond measure, and asked who were these foreigners that they should thus set him at defiance, with a handful of European and native troops not equal to a twentieth of his own army? His son was sent with 10,000 men to drive the French from Madras, but half a dozen rapid discharges of cannon bewildered them, and they retired more quickly than they had advanced. Dupleix, on hearing of the investment of the town, despatched a reinforcement consisting of 230 Euro-

Battle of St. Thomé.

peans and 700 sepoys. The son of the nabob marched to meet the detachment, and came up with it at St. Thomé, about four miles from Madras. The commander, Paradis, though without guns, assaulted the enemy with such vigour that the young nabob, who was mounted on a lofty elephant, and carried the royal ensign, was the first to fly from the field. He was followed precipitately by the whole body of 10,000 men, who never paused till they were almost in sight of Arcot. This engagement, although small in comparison with others, may be considered one of the most important and decisive battles in India. For the first time it gave the European settlers confidence in their own strength, and took all conceit of fighting out of the native princes. It taught the Europeans to disregard the disparity of numbers, however great, and dissolved the spell which had hitherto held them in abject subjection to the native powers. Nov. 4TH, 1746

The success of the French induced the nabob at once to change sides. The only possession left to the English on the coast was Fort St. David, and Dupleix sent an expedition against it; but it was defended by the earliest of our Indian heroes, Major Stringer Lawrence, and the French were obliged to retire, after four unsuccessful assaults. Soon after, admiral Boscawen arrived off the coast with a large fleet and a large reinforcement of troops, and it was determined to retaliate on the French by the capture of Pondicherry. The admiral unhappily determined to take the conduct of the siege on himself, but being altogether ignorant of military science and impatient of advice, he was subject to an ignominious failure. After having invested it for fifty days with the largest European force, little short of 4,000 men, which had ever yet been assembled in India, he was obliged to raise the siege, but not before he had lost one-fourth of his troops. Dupleix lost no time in trumpeting his success throughout India, and he received congratulations from the nabob at Arcot, from the Nizam at Hyderabad, and even from the emperor at Delhi. Immediately after this event, the peace of Aix la Chapelle restored Madras to the English, and Dupleix had the mortification of seeing his hated rivals reinstated in all their possessions. 1746 Siege of Pondicherry. 1746 1748 1748 1749

SECTION III.

FROM THE PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE TO THE YEAR 1756.

It might have been expected that the English and the French would now sheathe their swords and return to the pursuits of commerce; but, as the great historian, Orme, remarks, "The two nations having a "large body of troops at their disposal, and being "no longer authorised to fight with each other, took the "resolution of employing their armies in the contests of "native princes, the English with great indiscretion, the "French with the utmost ambition." The English were the first to set the example; they were anxious to obtain an accession of territory on the coast, and they accepted the offer of Sahoojee, who had been deposed from the government of Tanjore, to cede the town and district of Devicotta, at the mouth of the Coleroon, if they would restore him to the throne. A force of about 1,500 men was accordingly sent under Major Lawrence, who obtained possession of the town, after a long and clumsy siege—the first the English were engaged in. But he found the cause of Sahoojee hopelessly unpopular, and returned to Madras, and persuaded the president to come to an accommodation with Pertab Sing, the prince then on the throne.

English invade Tanjore.

A. D. 1749

Dupleix, however, aimed at a higher object than the acquisition of an insignificant town and a few miles of territory on the coast. He had seen a single battalion, consisting only in part of Europeans, disperse a native army, of ten times its number, like a flock of sheep. The rise of this new military power filled the minds of the native princes with awe; and Dupleix determined to avail himself of their rivalries, and the fermentation of the times, to erect a French empire in India. Chunda Sahib, the most enterprising prince in the Deccan, had been deprived of the important town of Trichinopoly by the Mahrattas, and carried away prisoner to Satara, where he languished for seven years. He was exceedingly popular throughout the Carnatic, and Dupleix conceived that his ambitious plans would be promoted by making him the nabob, in the room of Anwar-ood-deen, whose government was greatly disliked. He therefore obtained his liberation by the payment of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees; and Chunda Sahib speedily collected a body of 6,000 men, and advanced

Ambition of Dupleix.

towards the borders of the Carnatic. Just at this period, Nizam-ool-moolk, the soobadar of the Deccan, and the founder of the kingdom of Hyderabad, died at a patriarchal age, and the affairs of the Deccan were thrown into a state of confusion which greatly facilitated the ambitious projects of the French governor. Of the five sons of the Nizam, Nazir Jung, though often in revolt against his father, happened to be with him at the hour of death, and having obtained possession of the treasury and bought over the chiefs in the army and the state, proclaimed himself soobadar. But there was a grandson of the Nizam, Mozuffer Jung, the son of his daughter, whom he had destined for the succession, and in whose favour he had obtained a *firman* from the emperor of Delhi. He lost no time in collecting an army to assert his claim to the throne, and was joined by Chunda Sahib, to whom he promised the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French at once embarked in the cause, and a force was despatched to his aid under the command of Bussy, the ablest officer in the French service. The confederates encountered the army of Anwar-ood-deen at Amboor; he was completely defeated, and fell in action, and his son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly, where the treasures of the state were deposited. Mozuffer marched the next day to Arcot, and assumed the state and title of soobadar of the Deccan, and conferred the government of the Carnatic on Chunda Sahib. They then proceeded to Pondicherry, where Dupleix received them with an ostentatious display of oriental pomp, and was rewarded by the grant of eighty-one villages.

Death of Nizam-ool-moolk.

Death of Anwar-ood-deen.

JULY 1749

Mahomed Ali, finding that he could not hold Trichinopoly against the victors, sought the aid of the president of Madras, who sent a small detachment of 120 men to support him. It was a feeble movement, but it had the important effect of engaging the English in the cause of Mahomed Ali, which from that time forward they considered themselves bound in honour to support, under every vicissitude, as a counterpoise to French influence. Meanwhile, Nazir Jung assembled an army of 300,000 men, of whom one-half were cavalry, with 800 pieces of cannon, and marched in search of the confederates. At Valdaur, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry, he was joined by Major Lawrence with 600 Europeans, while Dupleix augmented the contingent with Mozuffer to 2,000 bayonets. But on the

English and Mahomed Ali.

1750

Nazir Jung in the Carnatic.

eve of the engagement, thirteen of the French officers refused to fight; the force became demoralised, and nothing could stop its precipitate flight to Pondicherry. Chunda Sahib joined in the retreat, but Mozuffer determined to throw himself on the mercy of his uncle, who took an oath to protect him, and then loaded him with irons. Nazir Jung, now undisputed master of the Deccan, appointed Mahomed Ali nabob of the Carnatic. All Dupleix's plans were apparently demolished by this blow, but never did the fertility of his genius appear more conspicuous than on this occasion. He sent envoys to treat with Nazir Jung, and they discovered that his three Patan feudatories of Kurnool, Cuddapa, and Savanoor, were displeased at his proceeding, and prepared to revolt. Dupleix opened a correspondence with them, and, at the same time, to intimidate the soobadar into a compliance with his terms, sent an expedition to Masulipatam, and occupied the town and district. He attacked and defeated the force of Mahomed Ali, the remnant of which sought refuge in the renowned fort of Gingee. It was immediately besieged by Bussy, and within twenty-four hours of his appearance before it, the French colours were flying on its ramparts, though the armies of Aurungzebe had besieged it for nine years. It was the first instance in which a European force had attacked a fortress considered impregnable, and its success spread a feeling of dismay through the Deccan, and created the conviction that nothing could withstand European valour.

Capture of Gingee by Bussy.

A.D. 1750

Nazir Jung, astounded by these proceedings, hastened to concede all Dupleix's demands—that the town and district of Masulipatam should be made over to him, Mozuffer Jung released, and Chunda Sahib installed nabob of the Carnatic. The soobadar concluded a treaty on these terms with Dupleix, but Dupleix had previously come to an understanding with the three mutinous Patan nabobs, and had directed Bussy to attack the army of the soobadar as soon as he received a requisition from them. Bussy was ignorant of the settlement which Dupleix had made with Nazir Jung when he was called upon to assail him by the Patan chiefs. He accordingly marched with 800 Europeans and 3,000 sepoys, and ten guns, against the soobadar's army, which he found stretched over eighteen miles of ground, and obtained a complete victory. "Never," remarks the historian of these events, "since the "days of Cortes and Pizarro did so small a force

1750

Bussy defeats Nazir Jung.

"decide the fate of so great a sovereignty." As the nabobs were moving off to join the French, Nazir Jung rode up to them with burning indignation, and engaged in a hand to hand struggle with the nabob of Cuddapa, whom he upbraided with his treachery. The nabob lodged two balls in the heart of his unfortunate master, and having cut off his head, presented it to Mozuffer Jung.

Mozuffer Jung, then confined in the camp, whom Nazir Jung had ordered to be decapitated if the day went against him, was proclaimed soobadar of the Deccan, and proceeded in company with Chunda Sahib to Pondicherry to express his obligations to Dupleix, and to make a suitable return for his aid. Dupleix, arrayed in the gorgeous robes of an imperial noble, received him with oriental magnificence. A splendid tent was erected, and in the presence of the native chivalry of the Deccan, Dupleix invested him with the office of soobadar, and, having paid homage to him, received the title of governor of all the country lying between the Kistna and Cape Comorin. Dupleix then presented Chunda Sahib to the soobadar, and requested that the real sovereignty and emoluments of the Carnatic might be granted to him. Mozuffer Jung was extremely anxious to return to the capital, and requested Dupleix to allow a French force to accompany him, and Bussy was sent with 300 Europeans and 3,000 disciplined sepoys. The encampment broke up from Pondicherry on the 7th of January, but within three weeks the turbulent Patan nabobs who had conspired against Nazir Jung, entered into a conspiracy against his successor. Their troops were speedily dispersed by Bussy; but Mozuffer Jung, rejecting all advice, insisted on pursuing them and was struck dead by the javelin of the nabob of Kurnool. The camp was thrown into wild confusion, but Bussy's presence of mind never forsook him. He immediately assembled the officers and ministers, and, with the ascendancy he had gained, prevailed on them to assent to his proposal of raising Salabut Jung, the brother of Nazir Jung, to the vacant dignity, and he was drawn from confinement to rule over thirty-five millions of subjects. The camp then moved forward, and in due course reached Aurungabad, then the capital of the Nizam. Dupleix had now attained the summit of his ambition, and the power of the French had reached its zenith. The soobadar reigned over the northern division of the Deccan, but it was virtually ruled by a French general, whose authority was supreme.

Mozuffer Jung soobadar.

1751

Salabut Jung soobadar.

A.D. 1751 In the south, all the country south of the Kistna was under the sway of Dupleix and all its resources were entirely subservient to his interests.

Career of Clive.

We turn to the proceedings in the Carnatic, where the French and English were employed for four years in attempts to obtain possession of Trichinopoly, which they both considered essential to the control of the country. It was held by Mahomed Ali, with the aid of a small body of English troops, and Dupleix, in conjunction with Chunda Sahib, sent a strong detachment under Law, the nephew of the famous South Sea financier, to expel them. It was on this occasion that the military genius of Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, was first developed. The son of a private country gentle-
1744 man, he came out to India in 1744, in the civil service of the East India Company. Two years after, he was in Madras when it surrendered to Labourdonnais, and made his escape to Fort St. David, where he exchanged the pen for the sword and took part in the defence of the fort. He was present at the abortive siege of Pondicherry by admiral Boscawen,
1748 and in the assault on Devicotta, where he attracted the admiration of Major Lawrence. He was attached to the force which the president of Madras, Mr. Saunders,
1749 despatched to the relief of the besieged garrison of Trichinopoly, and he perceived, by the instinct of his military genius, that it must fall unless some diversion could be
1751 created in its favour. He returned to Madras, and advised Mr. Saunders to sanction an expedition against Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, which he was convinced would have the effect of drawing off a considerable portion of Chunda Sahib's army for its defence. The president, who, happily, appreciated his merits, entrusted the enterprise to his direction, and he marched with 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, and eight officers, of whom one half were in the mercantile service and six had never been in action. They were allowed to enter the town, and, as Clive had calculated, Chunda Sahib withdrew 10,000 men to recover it. The fort was a mile in circumference, defended by a low and lightly built parapet and by towers, of which several were in a state of decay, and the ditch was dry and choked up. From the day of its occupation, Clive had been incessantly occupied in repairing the fortifications.

1751 Clive's defence of Arcot.

During the siege, one of his officers had been killed and two wounded, and another had returned to Madras. The troops fit for duty were

reduced to 120 Europeans and 200 sepoys, but with this handful of men he sustained for seven weeks the incessant assault of Chunda Sahib's force, aided by 150 French soldiers. The last assault lasted eighteen hours, after which Clive had the unspeakable gratification of seeing the enemy strike their tents and retire in despair. "Thus," says Orme, "ended this memorable siege, maintained for "fifty days under every disadvantage of situation and force "by a handful of men in their first campaign, with a spirit "worthy of the most veteran troops, and conducted by the "young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken "confidence, and undaunted courage, and notwithstanding "he had at this time neither read books nor conversed "with men capable of giving him much instruction in the "military art, all the resources he employed in the defence "of Arcot were such as were indicated by the greatest "masters of the art." Truly did the great statesman, William Pitt, designate him the heaven-born general.

On his return from Arcot, Clive was employed in a variety of enterprises, in which he distinguished himself by the same energy and talent. After the French had besieged Trichinopoly in vain for a twelvemonth, they were driven into a position which obliged the commander, Law, to surrender at discretion with all his troops, stores, and ammunition. In the early part of the siege, Mahomed Ali had called in the aid of the great Mahratta general, Morari Rao, of the regent of Mysore, and of the troops of the raja of Tanjore. Chunda Sahib, reduced to extremity by the surrender of his French allies, sought an asylum with the Tanjore general, who caused him to be assassinated at the instigation of Mahomed Ali; and that prince, as barbarous as he was cowardly and perfidious, after feasting his eyes with the sight of his murdered rival, caused his head to be cut off and bound to the neck of a camel and paraded five times round the walls of the city. Unknown to Major Lawrence, he had promised to make over the fortress of Trichinopoly, which it was important for the English to hold, to the Tanjore general. Disgusted with this baseness, Major Lawrence withdrew to Madras, leaving a body of European troops to hold the citadel. Mahomed Ali refused to fulfil the bargain, and the Tanjore troops joined the French in the siege, which Dupleix lost no time in renewing. The operations in and around it continued with little interruption for two years; but even the fascinating pages of Orme are not

Operations at Trichinopoly. A.D. 1752

1752

sufficient to induce the reader to wade through the narrative of the marches and counter-marches, the successes and the discomfiture, which marked these dreary campaigns. Suffice it to state that the French were three times worsted by the superior tactics of Major Lawrence, and that on one occasion the English sustained a memorable defeat, and that their native allies consequently deserted them. Dupleix at length, proposed the appointment of commissioners to treat of an accommodation, but the English agents, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Palk—who had divested himself of his holy orders to enter the Civil Service—defeated the object by insisting, as an indispensable preliminary, that Mahomed Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic. To these terms, Dupleix, to whom the soobadar had granted the control of the Carnatic affairs, could not be expected to agree, and the operations of war were resumed, and continued with varied success till the 1st of August, 1754, when Dupleix was suddenly superseded by the arrival of his successor, and all his schemes of ambition were at once subverted.

A.D. 1754

Fall of Dupleix.

The French and English had been tearing each other to pieces in India, while the mother countries were at peace in Europe. The two Companies had been straining their energies and wasting their resources in the cause of native princes whose fidelity was always doubtful. Their attention had been withdrawn from the counting-house to the field. They were both anxious, especially the English East India Company, to terminate this anomalous state of things, which the president at Madras attributed primarily, and not without justice, to the ambition of Dupleix. There was an influential minority at the French Board hostile to him, and they were strengthened by the disasters of the campaign of 1753. The cabinet of St. James, moreover, sent over a strong remonstrance to the French ministry, and supported it by the despatch of an entire regiment and four ships of war, under Admiral Watson, and the Directory in Paris was thus induced to take up the question in earnest, and they sent out Godehen, a member of their own body, with absolute authority over all the French settlements in the East Indies. He had already been in their service in India, and had always lived on the most friendly terms with Dupleix, but being a man of base and treacherous disposition, solicited permission to send him home in irons at the time when he was making fulsome protestations of cordiality. On his arrival at Pondicherry he

spared no pains to degrade and ruin him. The public accounts showed that twenty-five lacs of rupees were due to him for sums he had advanced to carry on the Government, from the fortune he had acquired before he assumed office, but Godeheu refused to allow these accounts to be audited. Dupleix had been in the habit of assisting the native allies with advances from his own purse on the security of certain districts, but Godeheu seized the districts, and farmed them out for the benefit of the Company. Dupleix, dishonoured and beggared, quitted the scene of his glory on the 14th October, 1754. On his arrival in Paris he was at first received with some show of distinction, but as soon as the Directors were assured that all differences had been adjusted in India, they treated him with hostility, and for ten years, to the day of his death, refused even to look into his accounts. He was pursued by creditors who had advanced money to Government on his security, and during the last three months of his life his house was in the hands of bailiffs. Three days before his death he wrote in his diary,—"I "have sacrificed my youth and my fortune to enrich my "country. I am treated as the vilest of mankind." Thus perished the second victim of the ingratitude of the French East India Company. Of those illustrious men who have established European supremacy in India, Dupleix stands among the foremost. He was the pioneer of European conquest. It was he who taught the way to govern native states by a handful of civil functionaries and a small body of European troops, and it was he who created a sepoy army. No Indian statesman has ever exhibited a more fertile political genius, and it is not improbable that, if he had remained in power in India for two or three years, with the two thousand European troops brought out by Godeheu, he would, in conjunction with Bussy, have made the French as complete masters of the Deccan as the English became of Bengal and Behar two years after.

A.D. 1754

1764

Godeheu and Mr. Saunders, the commissioner on the part of the East India Company, agreed upon an immediate suspension of arms, and concluded a convention which provided that the territories of the two Companies should eventually be of equal value when the convention was ratified in Europe. Mahomed Ali was confirmed as nabob of the Carnatic. The treaty was most disastrous to the French. It gave up all they had been contending for;—the nabobship of the Carnatic, the Northern Sircars, their allies, their influence, and their

1754

Convention between France and England.

honour. Both parties bound themselves for ever "to "renounce all Moorish government and dignity," and never to interfere in the affairs of the native princes. The ink, however, was scarcely dry before the treaty was given to the winds. The English despatched a force to subdue the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly for their nabob, and the French sent a detachment to seize Terriore.

A.D. 1756 But the prospects of peace were at once dissipated by the proclamation of war between France and England in 1756, and hostilities were prosecuted with greater fury than ever for five years.

SECTION IV.

CAREER OF BUSSY—WRECK OF THE FRENCH POWER—NATIVE STATES, TO PANIPUT.

To turn to the brilliant career of Bussy in the north of the Deccan: In military genius he stands on a level with Clive, but was greatly his superior in the art of political organisation. For several years he had been in association with natives of distinction, and had obtained a thorough knowledge of the native character. He also acquired the tact of managing them by the exercise of that wise accommodation to their feelings and habits, in which the French have always been more successful than the English. Having elevated Salabut Jung to the throne, he conducted him in triumph to his capital: but his elder brother, Ghazee-ood-deen, who held a high position in the court of Delhi, had obtained a patent of appointment to the soobadaree of the Deccan, and, having gained over the Mahrattas by the promise of a large section of territory, commenced his march to the south. His ally, the Peshwa, with 40,000 horse, advanced to encounter Salabut Jung, laying the country waste on his march. Bussy, with his handful of Europeans and 2,000 sepoys, and eight or ten field pieces, received the shock of the Mahratta cavalry, who came thundering down upon him in full speed with shouts of triumph. He awaited their approach with perfect coolness, and then poured volleys of grape with great rapidity into their ranks, and in a few moments they turned round and fled in disorder. This was the first time the Mahratta horse, the terror of the Deccan, had encountered a European force in the field, and

Bussy at the capital.

JUNE 29TH, 1751

1751

He defeats the Peshwa.

the result of the conflict increased the power and influence of Bussy in no ordinary degree. He followed up his success with great spirit, and vigorously pursued the Peshwa within twenty miles of Poona, and constrained him to sue for an accommodation. Meanwhile, Ghazee-ood-deen was advancing from the north with 150,000 men. The army of Salabut Jung was mutinous for want of pay, and Bussy wisely advised him to conciliate the Peshwa by ceding the territory west of Berar from the Taptee to Godavery, which had been promised by Ghazee-ood-deen, and which, being in a remote corner of his dominions, it would not be easy to protect. There was living at the time at Aurungabad, where Ghazee-ood-deen's army was encamped, one of the widows of Nizam-ool-moolk, to whom she had borne one son, Nizam Ali, and it was her earnest desire to seat him on the throne of the Deccan. To remove Ghazee-ood-deen out of the way, she invited him to a feast and urged him to partake of a particular dish, which she had prepared, she said, with her own hands. It was poisoned, and he died the same night, and his troops immediately dispersed. A.D. 1752

Murder of Ghazee-ood-deen.

The ascendancy which Bussy had acquired at the court of the soobadar had raised him many enemies, and the minister, though under great obligations to him, began to plot his destruction. At the beginning of 1753 he was obliged to resort to the sea-coast for the restoration of his health, and the treacherous minister, having dispersed his European forces in small bodies over the country, and withheld their pay, entered into a hostile correspondence with the president of Madras. One of his letters fell into the hands of Bussy, who felt that his cause was lost unless he could regain his influence, and though still labouring under disease, determined to make an immediate effort to baffle his enemies. He directed the detachments which had been scattered to assemble near Hyderabad, and, marching 500 miles to Aurungabad, unexpectedly presented himself at the court with 4,500 men, Europeans and natives. Not only was his ascendancy restored, but he was enabled to obtain from the fears of the soobadar and his ministers a grant of the four Northern Sircars for the maintenance of his force. They lay on the Coromandel coast, protected by a chain of hills running parallel with the sea, stretching about 450 miles along the coast, and from 30 to 100 miles inland. They contained many important towns, admirably adapted by the bounty of Providence and the

The Northern Sircars. 1753

industry of the inhabitants to sustain a lucrative commerce, and already yielded a revenue of half a crore of rupees. "These territories," remarked the great historian, "rendered the French master of the greatest dominion, "both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed in "Hindostan by Europeans, not excepting the Portuguese "when at the height of their prosperity."

On his return from the coast, Bussy found the soobadar resolved on an expedition to Mysore, in conjunction with the Mahrattas, to extort whatever sums, under the pretence of tribute, could be obtained, and Bussy was informed that he "must attend the stirrup of "his sovereign." But the regent of Mysore was in alliance with the French authorities at Pondicherry, and had sent the flower of his army to co-operate with them in the siege of Trichinopoly. Bussy was placed in a serious dilemma, from which he was relieved only by his extraordinary tact. He accompanied the soobadar's army with 500 European troops, and assumed the command of the expedition. He moved forward with such rapidity as to astound the Mysore regent and dispose him to agree to terms, and, assuming the character of a mediator, prevailed on the soobadar to accept of fifty-six lacs of rupees, to realise which he was obliged to despoil the females of their jewels and the temples of their wealth. Soon after, Bussy, joined by a Mahratta force and the army of the Nizam, was sent against the rebellious nabob of Savanoor, and was enabled to bring him to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Nizam; but his ever vigilant enemies misrepresented his proceedings to the Nizam, and induced that silly prince to dismiss him summarily, while he was yet in the south-west several hundred miles distant from the capital, and from his own resources. Bussy received the order of dismissal with his usual imperturbability. After crossing the Kistna, finding his ammunition running short, he turned out of his way to Hyderabad, and took up a position at Charmal, which he fortified. His ungrateful master, whom he had raised from a prison to a throne, summoned every tributary and dependent to his standard, and for two months assailed the encampment of his benefactor, who defended himself with his usual skill—his sepoys had deserted him—and was at length released from danger by the fortunate arrival of reinforcements from the coast. Salabut Jung was in a fever of alarm, and sued humbly for a reconciliation, and within three months of his dismissal

A.D. 1754 Bussy's trials.

1756 Dismissal of Bussy.

the authority of Bussy was more firmly established than ever. The zemindars in the Northern Sircars took advantage of this season of embarrassment to revolt, and Bussy was obliged to give five months of unremitting attention to the settlement of the province. The incidental effect of these events on the fortunes of the English in India deserves particular notice. It was during this period that Clive re-captured Calcutta, as will be hereafter related, and defeated the nabob, who sent an urgent request to Bussy to advance to his aid in Bengal. But he was detained by the necessity of regaining his power in his own province, and when the pacification of the province was complete, and he was prepared to move up through Orissa with a powerful body of troops, he heard to his mortification that Chandernagore had already surrendered. His presence in Bengal before that event might have given a different turn to the battle of Plassy.

Bussy's triumph. A.D. 1756

During the absence of Bussy on the coast, the impotent Salabut Jung was threatened with ruin by his profligate minister, who had seized the fortress of Dowlutabad, and placed the authority of the state in the hands of one of the Nizam's brothers. The crown was falling from his head, and the country was threatened with convulsions, when Bussy started from the coast with his army, and, traversing a region never yet trodden by Europeans, reached Aurungabad, a distance of four hundred miles, in twenty-one days. His presence extinguished these conspiracies as if by the wand of a magician. The minister was killed in a tumult created by his own devices; Nizam Ali fled, and Dowlutabad was recovered by a *coup de main*, and the French head-quarters were fixed in an impregnable position. Bussy had now been for seven years the arbiter of the Deccan. He had placed the interests of France on a foundation not to be shaken by any ordinary contingency, and they were as substantially established in the south of India as those of England were in the north by the victory of Plassy; and it seemed as if the empire of India would be divided between these two European nations. But it was otherwise ordained; the power of the one was destined to become permanent and expansive, that of the other was extinguished by the folly of one man. Lally arrived in India in 1758 as governor of the French possessions, and partly from caprice and partly from envy, ordered Bussy to quit the scene of his triumphs and return to Pondicherry with all his force.

1756

Bussy relieves Salabut Jung.

1756

1756

1758.

Recall of Bussy.

Bussy considered obedience the first duty of a soldier, and, to the inconceivable surprise of the native princes, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, who trembled at the sound of his name, at once retired from the Deccan at the period of his greatest strength, and the sun of French prosperity in India set not to rise again.

Lally, a member of an Irish Roman Catholic family, which retired to France on the flight of James II., had from his early youth, and for forty years, been trained in arms. His military reputation stood so high that when war broke out between France and England in 1756, he was considered the fittest man to command the large armament the French ministry was sending to India to establish French power. He was accompanied by the scions of the most illustrious families in France. He landed at Pondicherry in April, 1758, and marched at once against the English factory at St. David's, which was surrendered within a month. The time was peculiarly favourable for the expulsion of the English from the Deccan. Madras was unfortified, its European force and its fleet were in Bengal, and the French commanded the sea and were paramount on land. Lally was bent on attacking Madras without delay, but he was basely thwarted by the admiral, who refused the aid of his ships, and by the council of Pondicherry, who would not afford him any pecuniary assistance. Seven years before this time the rajah of Tanjore, pressed by the demands of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, had given them a bond for fifty-six lacs of rupees, which was considered valueless, and made over to Dupleix. As a last resource, Lally resolved to supply his military chest by demanding payment of this bond. With the largest European and native force which had ever till then taken the field, he hurried on to Tanjore; on his route he levied forced contributions, and blew six brahmins from the guns. The town was besieged for a fortnight, and a practical breach had been made when an English fleet appeared on the coast, and threatened Carical, the French depôt; Lally, who had only twenty cartridges left for each man and two days' provisions, raised the siege and retired. On his return to Pondicherry, he prevailed on the council to grant him some aid towards the siege of Madras, which was the object nearest his heart, and in November advanced to it with an army of 2,000 European foot and 300 European cavalry, the first ever seen in India, besides a large force of sepoys. The garrison of the fort

Lally—Siege of Madras.

A.D. 1758

1758

Siege of Madras.

consisted of 1,758 Europeans and 2,200 natives, but they were under the command of the veteran Lawrence, who was supported by thirteen officers trained under his own eye. The siege was prosecuted for two months with great vigour, and a breach was at length effected, but, at the last moment, the refusal of his officers to second him defeated Lally's plans, and the appearance of an English fleet in the roads obliged him to raise the siege and retire. A.D. Siege raised. 1759
Misfortunes thickened upon him. The Northern Sircars were occupied by a force despatched from Calcutta by Clive, under the gallant Colonel Forde, and Salabut Jung, having no longer anything to hope or fear from the French, threw himself into the arms of the English, and bound himself by treaty never to allow a French force to enter his service.

Lally returned to Pondicherry, with his army, officers as well as men, in a state of insubordination. But his hopes were raised by the arrival of a powerful Naval engagement. fleet consisting of eleven vessels, the smallest of which carried fifty guns; the English squadron was scarcely less powerful. In the engagement which ensued both 1759
parties were crippled, but neither of them beaten. The French admiral, however, disregarding the entreaties and even the menaces of the authorities at Pondicherry, sailed away with his whole fleet to the Isle of France, leaving the command of the sea with the English. The French troops mutinied for their pay, which was ten months in arrear, and marched out of Pondicherry towards Madras, but were induced to return by the discharge of a portion of it. Lally, determined to bring on an engagement, marched on Wandewash, and captured the town and laid siege to the fort. The English force under Colonel Coote, an officer second in ability only to Clive, came up for its French defeated at Wandewash. relief. The result was a pitched battle, known as the battle of Wandewash, one of the most severely contested and most decisive which had as yet been fought in India, in which the French, after prodigies of valour, sustained a signal defeat. It was the last struggle 1760
for empire between the French and English on the plains of India, and it demolished the hopes of establishing a French power. Lally fell back on Pondicherry, where he encountered nothing but intrigue and sedition from those who ought to have been unanimous in sustaining the national honour at this crisis. "From this time," he said, "without money, without ships, without even provisions,

"Pondicherry might be given up for lost." Coote, in the meantime, drove the French from all the towns and posi-
A.D. 1760 tions they held in the Carnatic, and prepared for the siege of Pondicherry, when the folly of the Court of Directors had well-nigh marred it, by sending out orders to supersede him by the Honourable Colonel Monson, the second in command. In the first independent enterprise of Colonel Monson, his success was so equivocal as to present an ill-omen of his efforts, but he was disabled by a severe wound, and Colonel Coote was prevailed on by the council of Madras to resume the command. The town was subject to a strict blockade during the rains, and vigorously besieged as soon as they ceased. Lally was thwarted at every turn by the civil functionaries who detested him, and in whom every spark of honesty and loyalty was extinct; but he maintained a long and energetic defence with a spirit and courage which elicited the applause of his English opponents, and he did not surrender the town until he was reduced to two days' provisions. As the victors
1761 marched into it, their feelings were deeply excited by the skeleton figures to which the noble forms of the two gallant regiments Lally had brought out with him were reduced by months of fatigue and famine. The French Court of Directors had sent instructions to Lally to erase the English settlements from the land. The despatch had fallen into the hands of the English Directors, and, by their orders, Pondicherry was levelled with the ground, and not a roof left of that noble colony. The war which, with a brief interval, the two nations had waged for fifteen years, terminated in the extinction of the French power. The ambitious hope of establishing a French empire in India, which had equally animated Labourdonnais and Dupleix, Bussy and Lally, was extinguished. Their settlements were, indeed, restored at the peace of Paris in 1763, but they never recovered their political position in India. Lally returned to Paris and was thrown into the Bastile, where he lingered for three years. He was then brought to trial, denied the assistance of counsel, and condemned to death for having betrayed the interests of the king and the company. He was drawn on a dung cart to the scaffold and beheaded, the third illustrious victim of the ingratitude of his country in fifteen years.

Siege of Pondicherry.

Capture of Pondicherry.

Fate of Lally.

SECTION V.

NATIVE STATES, FROM THE SACK OF DELHI, 1739, TO THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT, 1761.

To return to the events in the native states, from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, to the battle of Paniput in 1761. The atrocities perpetrated by Nadir Shah on his return to Persia, for eight years, were at length terminated by his assassination. Ahmed Shah Abdalee. But a new and more formidable foe to India arose on his death in the person of Ahmed Shah, the chief of the tribe of Abdalee Afghans, who was proclaimed king at Candahar before the close of the year, and became supreme in the regions beyond the Indus. Encouraged by the success of Nadir Shah, whom he had accompanied in his expedition, he turned his attention to India and occupied the province of Lahore, and advanced to Sirhind, where he A.D. 1747 was defeated by prince Ahmed, the son of the emperor of Delhi, who obliged him to recross the Indus. His first invasion. Mahomed Shah, the emperor, after a reign of more than thirty years, during which the imperial throne had been steadily becoming weaker, died in 1748, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed, who appointed the nabob of Oude his vizier. Alarmed by the growing power of the Rohillas, who had taken advantage of the invasion and of the confusion of the times to enlarge their power in Rohilcund, the Vizier attacked them and was defeated, and his province overrun, when he had recourse to the humiliating and dangerous expedient of calling in the Mahratta chiefs Holkar and Sindia, by whose aid he chased the Rohillas back to their hills. To gratify their avarice, he authorised them to plunder the conquered territory, which did not recover from the effect of their ravages for many years.

Ahmed Shah, having recruited his force, again occupied the Punjab and Mooltan, and sent an envoy to Delhi to 1751 demand the formal cession of them. The emperor, His second and third invasion. under the influence of a profligate eunuch, complied with the request. The Vizier, then absent in the pursuit of the Rohillas, hastened to Delhi, but being too late to prevent the surrender of the provinces, invited the eunuch to a banquet and caused him to be assassinated. The emperor was exasperated by this outrage, and enlisted the services of Ghazee-ood-deen, the grandson of Nizam-

ool-moolk and the son of the prince who was poisoned by his mother-in-law. This brought on a civil war between the emperor and the Vizier, and for six months the capital was deluged with blood. Ghazee-ood-deen then called to his assistance Holkar's mercenaries, and the Vizier, unable to cope with them, consented to an accommodation, and was allowed to retain possession of Oude and Allahabad, which were now finally alienated from the empire. The emperor, unable to bear the arrogance of Ghazee-ood-deen, marched out of his capital to oppose him while he was engaged in the siege of Bhurtpore, but was defeated and made prisoner, when the monster deprived him and his
A.D. mother of sight, and raised one of the princes of the blood
1754 to the throne, with the title of Alumgeer the second. He then proceeded to the Punjab and expelled the
Alumgeer II. Emperor. lieutenants of Ahmed Shah, who no sooner heard of the insult than he hastened to avenge it, and having recovered the Punjab, advanced to Delhi. Ghazee-ood-deen made the most abject submissions, and was forgiven, but the Abdalee was determined to obtain a pecuniary indemnity, and gave the city up to plunder. For many days the atrocities of Nadir Shah's time were repeated, and the wretched inhabitants were a second time
1756 subject to the insolence and rapacity of a brutal soldiery. Soon after, several thousand unoffending devotees were sacrificed in the holy city of Muttra at the time of a religious festival. A pestilence which presently broke out in his camp obliged him to recross the Indus. He left his son Timur in charge of the Punjab, and at the particular request of the emperor, placed the Rohilla chief
1757 Nujeeb-ood-dowlah in command of the imperial army to protect him from the designs of Ghazee-ood-deen.

That abandoned minister immediately called the Mahrattas to his aid, and Rughoonath Rao, more commonly
Mahratta grandeur. known in history as Raghoba, advanced and captured Delhi after a siege of a month, and then proceeding to the Punjab, drove the force of Timur back
1758 into Afghanistan and planted the Mahratta standard for the first time on the banks of the Indus. He returned to Poona, after having conferred the government of the province on a Mahratta officer. The Peshwa had, meanwhile, been intriguing for the possession of Ahmednugur, the most important city south of the Nerbudda, and at length obtained it by treachery. This aggression brought on hostilities with Salabut Jung and his brother Nazir

Jung, who had been reconciled. They had no longer the support of Bussy's genius or his troops, and even Ibrahim Khan, the ablest of Bussy's native generals, had been dismissed, and gone over with a powerful and well-served artillery to the Peshwa. The Nizam was reduced to such straits as to be obliged to agree to whatever terms the Peshwa might dictate, and obliged to surrender four of the most important fortresses in the Deccan, to confirm the possession of Ahmednugur, and to make over districts yielding fifty-six lacs of rupees, which reduced the Mogul possessions in the Deccan to a very narrow circle. The power of the Mahrattas was now at its zenith; it was acknowledged equally on the banks of the Indus and of the Coleroon, and it was predominant both in Hindostan and in the Deccan. The vast resources of the commonwealth were wielded by one chief and directed to one object, and they began to talk proudly of establishing Hindoo sovereignty throughout the continent of India. A.D. 1758 1759

Raghoba had left Holkar and Sindia to support the Mahratta interests in the north, and to despoil Rohilcund, of which Sindia had laid waste thirteen hundred villages in the course of a month, but he was soon after driven across the Jumna by the nabob Vizier. Just at this juncture the north of India was astounded by the report that Ahmed Shah Abdalee had crossed the Indus a fourth time in September, with a large army, to recover and extend his possessions. During his advance, Ghazee-ood-deen, dreading an interview between the Abdalee and the emperor Ahmed Shah, whom he had blinded, put him to death, and placed an unknown youth on the throne, who was, however, never acknowledged. Holkar and Sindia were in command of 30,000 horse, but they were widely separated from each other, and the Abdalee determined to attack them before they could form a junction. Sindia was overpowered, and lost two-thirds of his army. Holkar was routed with great carnage. The news of these reverses only served to inflame the ardour of the Peshwa and his cabinet, and it was resolved at Poona to make one grand and decisive effort to complete the conquest of India. The command of the force destined to this object was entrusted to Sudaseo Rao Bhow, commonly known as the Bhow, the cousin of the Peshwa, a general who had seen much service and was not wanting in courage and energy, but rash and impetuous, and filled with an overweening conceit of his own abilities. The Abdalee's fourth invasion. 1759 Defeat of Sindia and Holkar. 1759

A.D. 1760 The army which now moved up to encounter Ahmed Shah was the largest with which the Mahrattas had ever taken the field. Its gorgeous equipments formed a strong contrast with that of the humble and hardy mountaineers of Sevajee. The Mahrattas had already begun to assume the pomp of Mahomedan princes. The spacious and lofty tents of the chiefs were lined with silks and brocades, and surmounted with glittering ornaments. The finest horses richly caparisoned, and a train of elephants with gaudy housings, accompanied the army. The wealth which had been accumulated during half a century of plunder was ostentatiously displayed; and cloth of gold was the dress of the officers. The military chest was furnished with two crores of rupees. Every Mahratta commander throughout the country was summoned to attend the stirrup of the Bhow, and the whole of the Mahratta cavalry marched under the national standard. It was considered the cause of the Hindoos as opposed to that of the Mahomedans, and the army was therefore joined in its progress by numerous auxiliaries, more especially from Rajpootana. Sooruj Mull, the Jaut chieftain, brought up a contingent of 30,000 men. The army was, however, encumbered with two hundred pieces of cannon, and Sooruj Mull wisely advised the Bhow to leave them at Gwalior or at Jhansi, and resort to the national system of warfare, cutting off the supplies, and harassing the detachments of the enemy; but this sage counsel was haughtily rejected, and the Jaut withdrew from the camp in disgust, together with some of the Rajpoot chieftains. The Bhow entered Delhi and defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines which had been spared by the Persian and Afghan invader. The
1761 two armies met on the field of Paniput, where for the third time the fate of India was to be decided. That of the Mahrattas consisted of 55,000 cavalry in regular pay, 15,000 predatory horse, and 15,000 infantry, who had been trained under Bussy, and were now commanded by his ablest native general. The Mahomedan force numbered about 80,000 chosen troops, besides irregulars almost as numerous, with seventy pieces of cannon. After a succession of desultory engagements, some of them, however, of considerable magnitude, the Mahrattas formed an entrenched camp, in which, including camp followers, a body little short of 300,000 was collected. Within a short time this vast multitude began to be straitened for provisions. 'Cooped up in a blockaded encampment, amidst dead and dying

The battle of Paniput.

animals, and surrounded by famishing soldiers, the officers demanded to be led out against the enemy. The battle began before daybreak on the 7th of January, and the Mahratta chiefs nobly sustained their national reputation; but about two hours after noon Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peshwa, was mortally wounded, and Sudaseo Rao Bhow fled from the field, and the army became irretrievably disorganised. No quarter was asked or given, and the slaughter was prodigious. Not one-fourth of the troops escaped with their lives, and it was calculated that from the opening of the campaign to its close the number of casualties, including camp followers, fell little short of 200,000. Seldom has a defeat been more complete or disastrous. There were few families throughout the Mahratta empire which had not to mourn the loss of some relative. The Peshwa died of a broken heart, and his government never recovered its vigour and integrity. All the Mahratta conquests north of the Nerbudda were lost, and though they were subsequently recovered, it was under separate chieftains, with individual interests, which weakened their allegiance to the central authority. The Abdalee having thus shivered the Hindoo power, turned his back on India, and never interfered again in its affairs. The Mogul throne may be said to have expired with the battle of Paniput. Its territory was broken up into separate and independent principalities; the claimant to the throne was wandering about Behar with a band of mercenaries; and the nation which was destined to establish a new empire, and, in oriental phrase, to "bring the various "tribes of India under one umbrella," had already laid the foundation of its power in the valley of the Ganges. To the rise and progress of the English Government we now turn.

Prodigious slaughter.

Effect on the Mogul empire.

A.D. 176

SECTION VI.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN BENGAL.

THE wealth which Portugal had acquired in the sixteenth century by the trade to the east raised an earnest desire in England to obtain a share of it; and Drake, Cavendish, and other navigators were impelled by the spirit of maritime enterprise, which Queen Elizabeth fostered, to undertake voyages of discovery in

The East India Company.

A.D. the eastern seas. In 1583 Fitch and three other adven-
1583 turers traversed the length and breadth of the unknown continent of India, and the accounts they brought home of the opulence of its various kingdoms, and the grandeur of the cities, opened up the vision of a lucrative commerce to the English nation. The ardour of enterprise was, however, damped by the unsuccessful issue of a voyage of three years undertaken by Captain Lancaster, but it was revived by the report of the first mercantile expedition of the Dutch, which had resulted in a rich return. An association was accordingly formed in London, consisting
1600 of "merchants, ironmongers, clothiers, and other men of "substance," who subscribed the sum of £30,133, for the purpose of opening a trade to the East. The next year Queen Elizabeth granted them a charter of incorporation, under the title of the "East India Company," which for a hundred and fifty years confined itself to commercial pursuits, and then took up arms in defence of its factories, and impelled by the normal law of progression, became master of the continent of India.

The first attention of the Company was drawn to the spice islands in the eastern archipelago, in which the Dutch were endeavouring to supersede the Portu-
Its first enterprises. guese. The chief object of the India trade at that period was to obtain spices, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, in return for the exports from England of iron, tin, lead, cloth, cutlery, glass, quicksilver, and Muscovy hides.
1601 The first expedition sailed from Torbay in April, 1601. Eight voyages were undertaken in the next ten years, which yielded a profit of more than a hundred and fifty per cent. A portion of this return was obtained by piracy on their European rivals, which all the maritime nations at that period considered a legitimate source of gain. In 1611 the Company despatched vessels to Surat, then the great emporium of trade on the western coast of India; but the Portuguese were determined to repel the interlopers, and planted a squadron of armed vessels at the mouth of the Taptee. In the several encounters which ensued, the Portuguese were invariably discomfited, and as they were universally dreaded by the natives for their oppressions, the reputation of the English rose high, and they obtained
1613 permission to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, and other towns. These privileges were confirmed by the emperor Jehangeer.

Soon after, the Company prevailed on James I. to send

Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of Delhi, where he met with a distinguished reception and obtained further privileges for the Company. A.D. 1615 Sir T. Roe's embassy. The Company also succeeded in wresting Ormus from the Portuguese, and obtained a commercial footing in the Persian Gulf, but it never proved to be of any value. In 1620 the Company's agents for the first time visited the valley of the Ganges, and set up a factory at Patna; but it was through the patriotism of Mr. Boughton, one of their surgeons, that they obtained permission to settle in Bengal. 1620 Mr. Boughton's disinterestedness. The emperor was at the time in the Deccan, and his daughter being taken seriously ill, he sent to the Company's factory at Surat to request the services of an able physician. Mr. Boughton was despatched to the camp, and effected a cure; and being requested to name his own reward, asked permission to establish factories in Bengal, which was at once granted. Two years after, the emperor's second son, who had been appointed viceroy of Bengal, established his court at Rajmahal. One of the ladies of the seraglio was attacked with disease, and the services of Mr. Boughton were again solicited, and he again declined any personal remuneration, but obtained permission for his masters to plant factories at Hooghly and Balasore.

The first factory of the Company on the Coromandel coast was opened at Masulipatam and then transferred to Armegaum; but as the trade did not flourish, the superintendent accepted the invitation of the raja of Chundergiree, the last representative of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejanuger, to settle in his territories, and a plot of ground was accepted at Madraspatam, one of the most inconvenient places for trade on the Coromandel coast, on which the Company erected a fort, called, after the patron saint of England, Fort St. George, around which arose the city of Madras. 1639 Madras. Surat continued to be the port of the Company on the western coast till 1662, when, on the marriage of Charles II. to the Infanta Catherine, the daughter of the king of Portugal, he bestowed the port of Bombay as her dowry, and the Crown, finding it more expensive than profitable, made it over to the Company, who removed their chief establishments to it. 1662 Bombay. The annals of the Company for a period of forty years in Bengal are barren of events. They enjoyed great prosperity, and their trade flourished to such an extent that it was erected into a separate Presidency, but

the simple men of the counter in Dowgate were at length seized with a fit of political ambition, which brought them to the verge of ruin.

The Court of Directors had obtained admiralty jurisdiction from the Crown, with liberty to seize all interlopers.

The Company's ambition.

The profits of the Company had, as usual, led to the establishment of a new and rival Company in London, which it was deemed advisable to root out. The agent of the old Company, with the view of excluding them from Bengal, had sought permission of the Mogul viceroy to erect a fortification at the mouth of the river, but he resented their application by increasing the duty on their exports, in violation of the firman granted by the emperor. Such impositions which had frequently been made before, had been eluded by a discreet distribution of presents, but on the present occasion the Company assumed a high tone, and determined to seek redress by engaging in hostilities with the Mogul empire, then in the

A.D. 1685

zenith of its power. With the permission of the Crown, they sent out admiral Nicholson with twelve ships of war, carrying 200 guns and 1,000 soldiers, to seize and fortify Chittagong, to demand the cession of the neighbouring territory, and to establish a mint. But these ambitious prospects were destined to a severe disappointment. The fleet was dispersed in a storm, and a portion of it sailed to Hooghly where the advanced-guard of 400 men had already arrived from Madras. The appearance of this formidable armament induced the nabob to seek an accommodation, when three intoxicated sailors reeled into the bazaar, and fell out with the police. Both parties were

Battle at Hooghly.

reinforced, and a regular engagement ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Moguls. The admiral set the town on fire, and burnt down five hundred houses. Job Charnock, the chief of the Company's factory, dreading an attack from the nabob's troops, moved down with all his establishment to the village of Chuttanutty, and then to the island of Ingelee, a swamp in the Soonderbun, where half his people perished of jungle fever. He was relieved from this embarassing position by the appearance of an envoy from the nabob with proposals of peace. The Court of Directors, who were determined to carry their views by force, had directed their chief at Bombay to blockade Surat, which was the pilgrim port on the western coast, and the departure of

devout Mahomedans to the shrine of the Prophet was at once stopped. Aurungzebe's fanaticism overcame his pride, and, in order to open the road to Mecca, he condescended to seek accommodation with the infidels who had blocked it up. A treaty was accordingly concluded, and Charnock returned to Chuttanutty, but not to remain there. The Court of Directors, hearing of the proceedings at Hooghly, determined to prosecute the war with increased vigour, and despatched Captain Heath with several vessels of war to Bengal. On his arrival, he disallowed the treaty and commenced warlike operations, and embarking the whole of the Company's property and officers on fifteen vessels, proceeded to Balasore, which he burnt, and then crossed over to Chittagong. Its fortifications were stronger than he had expected, and he sailed to Madras, where he landed all the Company's establishments. Aurungzebe, incensed at these renewed aggressions, ordered all the English factories in every part of India to be confiscated, and nothing remained of the Company's possessions except the fortified towns of Madras and Bombay. Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, sent two gentlemen to the emperor's encampment at Beejapore to treat for a reconciliation. Aurungzebe by the recent conquest of Beejapore had extended his power over the whole of India; but though it was irresistible on the land, the English were masters of the sea, and they blockaded the Mogul ports, and both obstructed the pilgrimage, and destroyed the trade of the Moguls. Nor was he insensible to the loss his subjects sustained by the suspension of the English trade, which was calculated at a crore of rupees a year, and he agreed "to overlook their "offences," and restore their factories. The nabob of Bengal, who was favourable to them, lost no time in acquainting Mr. Charnock at Madras with the emperor's wishes, and beseeching him to return to Bengal. He landed at Chuttanutty on the 24th of August, 1690, and in the neighbouring village of Calcutta laid the foundation of the future metropolis of British India. This spasm of ambition did not last more than five years, and for half a century afterwards the servants of the Company were instructed to consider themselves "the representatives of a body of merchants, and to live "and act accordingly."

Stoppage of pilgrimage.

A.D. 1688

Bengal abandoned.

1690

Foundation of Calcutta.

The Company having now a settlement of their own in

A.D. Bengal, were anxious to place it, like Madras and Bombay,
1695 in a state of defence; but it was contrary to the policy of the Mogul empire to permit the multiplication of such fortifications. The forts at the two other Presidencies had been erected before the authority of the Moguls was extended over the territory in which they were situated. The nabob of Bengal refused the permission which the governor had sought, but in 1695 the zemindar of Burdwan revolted, and in conjunction with Rehim Khan, the chief of the Orissa Afghans, plundered Hooghly, and threatened the foreign settlements. The danger to which they were exposed was strongly represented to the nabob, who was bewildered by the rebellion, and he desired the agents of the Companies, in general terms, to provide for their own security. Immediately every hand was set to work, night and day, to raise the fortifications, by the Dutch at Chinsurah, the French at Chandernagore, and the English at Calcutta. In compliment to the reigning monarch the fortress was designated Fort William.

Erection of Fort William.

The Company was now threatened by a more formidable opponent in London. The dazzling profits of the India trade had drawn forth a multitude of competitors, but they succeeded in obtaining a renewal
1693 of their charter from the Crown in 1693. A few months after, however, the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect, "that it is the right of all Englishmen to trade "to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parlia-"ment." This gave fresh animation to those who were eager to share in the trade, and they petitioned Parliament for a charter, backed by the tempting offer of a loan of twenty millions to the treasury at eight per cent., and it was accepted. The old Company had not been able to offer more than a third of the sum, and they were ordered to wind up their affairs in three years. But the rivalry of the two Companies was found, even in the first year, to be fatal to the public interests. Their competition enhanced the price of produce in every market in India, and created a scarcity. The native officers, courted by two parties, fleeced them in turn, and oppressed both, and the money which should have been laid out in investments was squandered in bribes, to the extent of seven lacs of rupees. At Surat, the agents of the old Company were seized by the agents of their rivals, dragged through the streets and delivered to the Mogul authorities of the town

Rival companies.

Disastrous results.

as disturbers of the public peace. The nation became at length sensible of the disastrous results of this contention, and in 1702 the two Companies were amalgamated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants "trading to the East." Their former privileges were granted by the Crown; the new charter was sanctioned likewise by Parliament, and the strength of union inspired them with greater animation in the prosecution of their commerce. The fortifications of Calcutta were silently but diligently improved, and gave confidence to the native merchants, who came there in large numbers, and it became one of the most flourishing settlements in the province. But the history of it from this time to the battle of Plassy, for more than fifty years, and more especially during the viceroyalty of Moorshed Kooly Khan and his successor, is only a register of the extortions of the Mogul government, and the contrivances of the president to evade them. It is an unvaried tale of insolence and plunder on the one part, and humiliating submission on the other, which was at length avenged by the battle of Plassy. A.D. 1702

Their union.

In the year in which the Companies were united, Moorshed Kooly Khan was appointed dewan, or financial administrator, of Bengal. He was the son of a poor brahmin in the Deccan, and was purchased and circumcised by an Ispahan merchant. On the death of his master, he obtained service with the dewan of Berar, and by his financial ability attracted the notice of Aurungzebe, who appointed him dewan of Bengal in 1702. He was soon after invested with the soobadaree, or viceroyalty of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and removed the capital to the new city of Moorshedabad, which he founded and called after his own name. He was aware that the prosperity of Bengal was greatly promoted by its maritime trade, and gave every encouragement to the Mogul and Arab merchants, but regarded the fortified factories of the foreign companies, and more especially that of the English, with great jealousy, and when firmly seated in power, trampled under foot the privileges obtained from the emperor by the English Company. He imposed heavy taxes on the trade of the Company, which they had no means of evading except by the offer of exorbitant bribes.

Moorshed-Kooly-Khan.

The president in Calcutta determined, therefore, to appeal to the emperor, and despatched an embassy to

Delhi with presents so costly as to make the Court of Directors wince. Moorshed Kooly used all his influence at court to defeat an application directed against his own interest and authority, and would doubtless have succeeded in baffling it but for an unexpected event. The emperor Ferokshore was betrothed to a Rajpoot princess, but the nuptials were postponed in consequence of a sharp attack of disease, which the royal physicians were unable to subdue. On the advice of one of the ministers, who was favourable to the English, Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the mission, was called in, and effected a cure. He was required by the grateful emperor to name his own recompense, and, imitating the noble patriotism of Mr. Boughton, only asked that the emperor would grant the privileges the embassy had been sent to solicit, the chief of which was permission to purchase thirty-eight villages adjacent to Calcutta. Many objections were raised to this concession by the representatives of the Bengal viceroy, but it was at length conceded. The possession of these villages, extending ten miles on each side of the river, would have given the Company the complete control of the maritime trade of the province, and Moorshed Kooly threatened the zemindars with his vengeance if they parted with a single inch of land. The firman became a mere piece of waste paper.

Embassy to Delhi.

A.D. 1717

Moorshed Kooly Khan is one of the greatest names in the Mahomedan history of India. He was as eminent a financier as Toder Mull. He caused an accurate survey to be made of the lands, and revised the assessment; he divided the province into chuklas, or districts, and appointed officers over each to collect the rents, who became rich and powerful zemindars, and as the office, as usual, became hereditary, assumed the title and the state of rajas. Of these rajas, only one—in Burdwan—retains his zemindaree unimpaired at the present time. The Mahomedan officers were regarded as sieves, which retained nothing; the Hindoo officers as sponges, which could be squeezed when saturated with plunder, and they were accordingly employed in the collections, to the entire exclusion, except in one instance, of the professors of the creed of the Prophet. The revenues of Bengal were a little in excess of a crore and a quarter of rupees, of which one-third was reserved for the expenses of the Government, and a crore regularly transmitted to the imperial treasury, the viceroy invariably accompanying

1702 to 1725 Administration of Moorshed.

the procession which conveyed the tribute in person, the first march out of Moorshedabad. Though severe in the exaction of revenue, he was eminently just in his administration, constant to one wife, frugal in his domestic habits, and exemplary in his charities. Under his administration the prosperity of the country was abundantly increased. A.D.
He died in 1725, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, 1725
Soojah-ood-deen, a Turkoman noble from Khoraśan, who retained his post in spite of the intrigues at the imperial court, chiefly through the punctual transmission of the tribute. He was succeeded in 1739 by his son, Serefraz 1739
Khan, at the time when Nadir Shah was plundering Delhi, and as the dictate of prudence, the nabob ordered the coin to be struck and prayers to be read in his name.

SECTION VII.

SACK OF CALCUTTA AND CONQUEST OF BENGAL.

WITHIN a twelvemonth Aliverdy Khan, a native of Turkistan who had been entrusted with the government of Behar, succeeded, by large bribes and larger promises to the venal ministers of the emperor Mahomed Shah in obtaining the office of viceroy, and marched against Serefraz, who was defeated and slain. 1741
Aliverdy had been employed for twenty years in public affairs, and was eminently fitted by his talents to adorn the position he had clandestinely obtained, and it was through his energy that Bengal was saved from becoming a Mahratta province. While Rughoojee Bhonslay was employed in the Carnatic, as narrated in the last chapter, one of his generals, Bhaskur Punt, entered Bengal and laid waste the whole country west of the Bhagruttee, from Cuttack to Rajmahal: A division of his army suddenly appeared before Moorshedabad and plundered the suburbs and extorted two crores and a half of rupees from the Setts, the most opulent bankers in Hindostan. The Mahratta commander then moved down upon Hooghly, which he plundered, and the wretched inhabitants crowded for shelter into the foreign settlements. The president at Calcutta sought permission of the viceroy to surround the settlement with an entrenchment, which was readily granted, and the work was prosecuted with vigour, but sus-

Aliverdy Khan.

Mahratta Invasion. 1742

pended on the retirement of the enemy and never com-
A.D. 1742 Mahratta Ditch. pleted. This was the celebrated Mahratta Ditch, which, though it has disappeared like the old wall of London, long continued to mark the municipal boundaries of the town, and to give its citizens the soubriquet of the "inhabitants of the Ditch."

The Mahrattas, though invariably defeated, renewed their ravages from year to year. The recollection of these devastations was not effaced for several genera-
Orissa ceded to the Mahrattas. tions from the memory of the inhabitants in the western districts, and the invasion of the Burgees—the name by which the Mahrattas were called—continued, even in the present century, to be an object of horror. Wearied out with the conflict of ten years, which ruined the country and exhausted the revenue, Aliverdy, then in his seventy-fifth year, agreed to pay the raja of Berar the *chout* on the revenues of Bengal, and to cede the province of Orissa to him. The nabobs of Bengal con-
1751 tinued, however, to retain the name of Orissa as one of the three soobahs under their rule, though nothing was left of it to them but a small territory north of the Subunreka. Aliverdy devoted the remaining five years of his vice-royalty to repairing the ravages of this harassing warfare,
1756 and died in April, 1756, at the age of eighty. The very next year the sovereignty of the three provinces passed from the Turkoman Mahomedans to the English, and became the basis of the British empire in India.

Aliverdy Khan bequeathed the government to his favourite grandson Suraj-ood-dowlah, a youth of twenty, who had
1756 Suraj-ood-dowlah. already become the object of universal dread and abhorrence for his caprices and cruelty. He had long evinced particular animosity towards the English, and the Court of Directors had specially enjoined the president to place Calcutta in a state of defence. The factory was reported to be very rich, and the young tyrant had marked it out for early spoliation, but an unexpected event hastened his movements. Before he came to power he had despoiled the Hindoo governor of Dacca, and placed him in confinement. His son Kissendas, anxious to place his family and treasures in a state of security, under pretence of a pilgrimage to Jugernath, proceeded with a large retinue to Calcutta, where he received a cordial welcome from the president, Mr. Drake. Immediately on the death of the old nabob, Suraj-ood-dowlah peremptorily demanded the surrender of Kissendas

with all his wealth. It was followed by a second communication, ordering him to demolish the fortifications which it was reported he had erected at Calcutta. Mr. Drake replied that he had only put the ramparts facing the river in repair, in the prospect of a war with France, but he refused to give up the refugee to whom he had given protection. The young soobadar was at this time marching into Purneah to coerce the refractory governor, his cousin; but enraged at this opposition to his wishes, he ordered his army to turn back and march directly down to Calcutta.

The town was ill-prepared for such an assault. During fifty years of peace the defences had been neglected, and warehouses had been built up to the ramparts. The attention which the French had always paid to the fortification of their settlements formed a singular contrast to the indifference manifested by the English; and Chandernagore was at this time so thoroughly defensible that it would have baffled all the attacks of any native army. After the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais, the Court of Directors had sent out orders to strengthen the works, and these orders were repeated with increased importunity as the health of the old viceroy declined. But their servants in Calcutta were too busily intent on amassing fortunes to heed these injunctions, and their infatuation down to the latest moment was exceeded only by their cowardice when the crisis came. The militia was not embodied, and the powder furnished by a fraudulent contractor was deficient both in quality and in quantity. There were only 174 men in garrison, not ten of whom had ever seen a shot fired, and the besiegers were 50,000 in number. Yet, against these odds, Clive would have made as noble and successful a defence as he did at Arcot; but the governor was Drake, and the commandant Minchin. The nabob's army sat down before it on the 17th June; the town was occupied the next day, and the day after, it was determined to send the women and children on board the vessels anchored off the fort. As soon, however, as the watergate was opened, there was an indiscriminate rush to the boats, many of which were capsized. The enemy sent some "fire arrows" at the ships, which did no damage at all, but the commanders immediately weighed anchor and dropped down the river two miles. Two boats alone remained at the stairs, and Mr. Drake, without leaving any instructions, quietly slipped into one of them; he was followed by the military commander, and they rowed down

A.D. 1756

Capture of Calcutta.

1756

A.D. 1756 to the ships. As soon as this base desertion of their posts became known, and calmness had been restored, Mr. Holwell was unanimously placed in command, and it was resolved to defend the fort to the last extremity. It held out for forty-eight hours, during which signals were made day and night to the vessels anchored below, and they might have come up with perfect ease and safety and have rescued the whole of the gallant garrison, but not a vessel moved. On the 21st the enemy renewed the attack with redoubled vigour: more than half the force was killed or wounded, and the European soldiers broke into the liquor stores and became unfit for duty. Mr. Holwell was obliged to agree to a parley, during which the nabob's soldiers treacherously rushed into the fort and obtained possession of it. Search was immediately made for treasure, but only five lacs of rupees were found in the vaults, and the nabob's indignation knew no bounds.

The nabob retired about dusk to his encampment. The European prisoners were collected together in a veranda, while the native officers went in search of some building in which they might be lodged for the night, but none could be found, and they were desired to move into an adjoining chamber, which had been used as the lock-up room of the garrison. It was not twenty feet square, with only a single window, and, however suitable for the confinement of a few refractory soldiers, was death to the hundred and forty-six persons now thrust into it, in one of the hottest months of the most sultry season of the year. The wretched prisoners soon became frantic with suffocating heat and intolerable thirst, and called upon the sentries to fire upon them and put them out of their misery. They sank one by one in the arms of death, and when the door was opened in the morning, only twenty-three were dragged out alive, the most ghastly of forms. This is the tragedy of the Black Hole, which has fixed an indelible mark of infamy on the name of Suraj-ood-dowlah. Yet so little did it appear an extraordinary occurrence that it excited no attention in the native community, and is not even mentioned by the great Mahomedan historian of the period. The nabob returned to Moorshedabad and confiscated all the property of the Company at the out factories, and they were as completely expelled from Bengal as they had been seventy years before in the reign of Aurungzebe.

The Black Hole

Extinction of the Company.

1757 But the time of retribution was not distant. The Court

of Directors had regarded the progress of Bussy in the Deccan with a feeling of great jealousy, and determined to contract an alliance with the Peshwa to arrest it. Clive, who had been received with distinguished honour by the Company and the ministry, was sent for this purpose to Bombay with a considerable force, but on his arrival found the president and his council inflexibly averse to embark in so perilous an enterprise. Admiral Watson happening to arrive at the same time with his fleet from Madras, it was determined to employ the powerful armament thus assembled in rooting out the piratical chief Angria on that coast. His power had become so formidable, and his audacity had increased to such an extent, that in the previous year his corsairs had overpowered three Dutch ships of war, respectively, of fifty, thirty-six, and eighteen guns, the two largest of which they burnt. The English fleet and army proceeded against Geriah, his capital, and within an hour after the attack began, the whole pirate fleet was in a blaze. In the arsenal were found two hundred pieces of cannon, with a very large store of ammunition, and twelve lacs of rupees, which the captors, with very commendable wisdom, distributed among themselves without ceremony. The admiral and Clive then returned to Madras, where information had just been received of the sack of Calcutta; and although a strong party in the council was still bent on a conflict with Bussy, the majority came to the conclusion that it was their first duty to retrieve the affairs of their masters in Bengal. An expedition was accordingly fitted out and entrusted to the genius of Clive, who sailed from Madras with admiral Watson's fleet, on which were embarked 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys.

Clive's movements —Geriah. A.D. 1755

They entered the Hooghly, and on the 15th December reached Fulta, where they found the dastardly Drake and his fellow fugitives in the ships on which they had taken refuge in June. A little higher up the river there was a small fortification at Budge Budge, held by the Hindoo general of the nabob, who had been left in charge of the army. It was attacked by Clive, and a ball happening to pass too close to the commander's turban, he hastened back to Calcutta. Not deeming himself, however, safe there, he fled to Moorshedabad, leaving 500 men to defend the fort, which was delivered up to Clive on the 2nd January, when the Company's standard was again hoisted on its ramparts. The nabob had persuaded himself that the

1756

Capture of Calcutta.

1757

English would never again enter his dominions, and he was filled with indignation when he heard of their audacity. He refused to listen to any overture from Clive, and thus marched down in haste with an army of 40,000 men.

A.D. 1757 Finding a contest inevitable, Clive determined to take the initiative, and long before dawn on the 5th February marched out with his entire force, augmented by 600 marines, and assaulted the nabob's encampment. Towards sunrise a February fog bewildered the troops and weakened the strength of the attack, but the Nabob, who had never been under fire before, and had moreover seen many of his officers fall around him, hastened to make overtures of peace, and a treaty was concluded on the 9th February. All the former privileges of the Company were restored, and permission was given to establish a mint and to fortify Calcutta. Information had soon after been received of the declaration of war between England and France. The French settlement of Chandernagore, twenty miles above Calcutta, was garrisoned with 700 Europeans, besides a large body of native troops, and Bussy was encamped with a victorious army at a distance of only four hundred miles in the Northern Sircars. The nabob had no sooner signed the treaty than he importuned Bussy to march up to Bengal and expel the English. Clive felt that the junction of the two French forces would compromise the position of the Company, and he determined to attack Chandernagore before it could be effected. He attacked it by land while admiral Watson bombarded it with his fleet, and the town was surrendered upon honourable terms after a very gallant resistance of nine days. When the capture had been effected, Clive remarked, "We cannot stop here," and his prediction has been verified by a century of progress which has carried us beyond the Indus.

Battle at Dumdum.

Capture of Chandernagore.

Meanwhile, the violence and the atrocities of the nabob continued to augment the disgust of his ministers and officers. Every day produced some new act of oppression, and in May, Meer Jaffier, the military paymaster and general, and the brother-in-law of Aliverdy Khan, entered into a combination with other officers of state, and the all-powerful bankers, the Setts, to supersede him. There was at Moorshedabad at the time one Omichund, who had settled in Calcutta about forty years before, and amassed immense wealth by contracts with the Company, and who maintained the state of a prince. He ac-

1757 Confederacy at the capital.

companied the nabob to the capital after the battle of the 9th February, constantly attended the durbar, and obtained such influence in the public councils as to render it advisable for the confederates to take him into their confidence. A.D. Clive was invited to join the league with magnificent offers 1757 for the Company; and as he was convinced that "there could "be neither peace nor security while such a monster as the "nabob reigned," he entered readily into their plans. A secret treaty was concluded, stipulating that the English should instal Meer Jaffier, and that he should pay a crore and three-quarters of rupees to make good their losses. Omichund got scent of the treaty and threatened to disclose the transaction to the nabob—which would have led to the immediate massacre of the whole party—unless an additional article was inserted guaranteeing to him a donation of thirty lacs, and a commission of five per cent. on all the payments. Clive on hearing of this outrageous demand came to the conclusion that "art and policy were "warrantable to defeat the plans of such a villain," and he drew up a fictitious treaty on red paper, in which his demand was provided for, while the real treaty, authenticated by the seals of the confederates, contained no such stipulation. He is said to have died within a year raving mad, but this statement is utterly unfounded. This is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive which does not admit of vindication, though he himself always defended it, and declared that he was ready to do it a hundred times over.

Clive marched from Chandernagore on the 13th June with 900 Europeans, consisting partly of the 39th Regiment of foot, who still carry on their colours "Primus in Indis," 2,100 natives, and ten pieces of cannon. He marched up to Cutwa, where he called a council of war, which voted against any farther advance; but immediately after he resolved to carry out the enterprise, and on the night of the 22nd moved on to the grove of Plassy. The nabob's army, consisting of 50,000 horse and foot, was encamped in its immediate vicinity. Meer Jaffier had taken an oath to join Clive before or during the engagement, but he did not make his appearance, and was evidently waiting the result of events. On the memorable 23rd of June the 1757 nabob's troops moved down on the small band of English troops, and Clive advanced to the attack. The enemy withdrew their artillery; Meer Mudun, the general-in-chief, was mortally wounded and expired in the presence of the nabob,

Battle of Plassy.

who was unable to control his terror, but mounted a swift camel and fled at the top of his speed with 2,000 horse, and did not pause till he reached Moorshedabad. His army immediately dispersed, and this battle, which decided the fate of Bengal and Behar, and eventually of India, was gained with the loss of only seventy-two killed and wounded. As soon as the victory declared in favour of Clive, Meer Jaffier advanced with his troops to congratulate him, and to obtain the fruits of it. Suraj-ood-dowlah on reaching the capital found himself deserted by all his courtiers, and after a day of gloomy reflections, descended in disguise from a window in the palace with a favourite eunuch and a concubine, and embarked in a boat in the hope of overtaking M. Law, a French officer, whom Bussy had sent up with a small force. He proceeded up the river and landing at Rajmahal to prepare a meal, entered the hut of a religious mendicant, whose ears he had ordered to be cut off the preceding year. He was recognised and made over to those who were in pursuit of him, and conveyed back to Moorshedabad, eight days after he had quitted it. Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier, immediately caused him to be put to death, and his mangled remains were paraded the next day through the city and buried in the tomb of his grandfather.

A.D. 1757 Clive entered Moorshedabad on the 29th of June, and proceeded to the palace, where the great officers of state were assembled, and having conducted Meer Jaffier to the throne, saluted him as soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The change in the position of the English in the course of a twelvemonth appears more like a scene in a fairy tale than in sober history. In June, 1756, Calcutta had been sacked and burnt, and the Company extirpated. In June, 1757, they had not only recovered the seat of their commerce and extinguished their European rivals, but defeated and dethroned the nabob, and disposed of the sovereignty of a country larger and more populous than England. Of the treasures at Moorshedabad more than two crores were made over to the conquerors, and the first instalment of eighty lacs was conveyed in a triumphant procession to Calcutta, along the road where, a twelvemonth before, Suraj-ood-dowlah had marched back to his capital with the plunder of Calcutta. For the Company Clive reserved only the fee simple of 600 yards of land around the Mahratta Ditch, and the zemindaree rights of the districts south of Calcutta. For himself, he rejected the magnificent offers of the opulent nobles who

Clive at Moorshedabad.

were anxious to secure his favour, and contented himself with a gift of sixteen lacs from Meer Jaffier. When his services were afterwards forgotten, and he was upbraided in the House of Commons with his rapacity, he replied indignantly—"When I recollect entering the treasury of "Moorshedabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right "hand and to the left, and these crowned with jewels, I "stand astonished at my own moderation." Intelligence of the loss of Calcutta was eleven months in reaching England, and seven weeks after the Directors heard of its recovery and of the brilliant results of the battle of Plassy. Seventy years before they had sent admiral Nicholson with a powerful armament to establish them as a political power in Bengal, but so completely had they dismissed all the dreams of ambition, that with the richest provinces of India at their feet, the only satisfaction they expressed was that their factors would now be able to provide investments for two years without drawing upon them.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION I.

PROCEEDINGS IN BENGAL FROM THE BATTLE OF PLASSY TO HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

A.D.

THE emperor of Delhi was at this time a puppet in the hands 1757
of his unprincipled minister, Ghazee-ood-deen, and his eldest son and heir, Ali Gohur, had succeeded in making Invasion of Ali Gohur.
his escape from the capital, and raising the imperial standard. India was swarming with military adventurers ready to take service under any chief, and the prince found no difficulty in collecting an army of 40,000 men, and, being joined by the nabob Vizier of Oude, invaded Behar, and appeared before the city of Patna. Clive lost no time in advancing to its defence, and the prince retired in all haste on his approach. During his flight he was reduced to such distress as to throw himself on the consideration of Clive, and the heir and descendant of Ak- 1758
bar and Aurungzebe was happy to receive a donation of eight thousand rupees to relieve his necessities.

The influence which Clive necessarily exercised in the

A.D. government of Bengal from his character and position
1759 Battle at Chinsurah. tended to lessen the importance of Meer Jaffier, and his court and family could not fail to remember with chagrin that the foreigners who now overshadowed the throne had only three years before approached it as suppliants. The nabob, looking about for the means of counterbalancing Clive's ascendancy, began to intrigue with the Dutch at Chinsurah. The governor of Java, moreover, viewed with no friendly eye the superior advantages which the English had acquired in Bengal, and in the hope of fishing up some prize in the troubled waters of the province, fell in with the projects of the nabob, and despatched a fleet of seven vessels with 700 Europeans and 800 well-trained Malay sepoys to Chinsurah. Clive was resolved not to tolerate any rival European influence in Bengal, and, although the two nations were at peace, seized the vessels, and directed Colonel Forde to intercept the progress of the troops. That officer shrank from the responsibility of attacking the soldiers of a friendly power, and requested a written authority from his chief. Clive was sitting at cards when the Colonel's letter was placed in his hands, and sent a reply in pencil on the back of one of them—"Fight them immediately. I will send you the "order in council to-morrow." The Dutch force was attacked and defeated as it approached Chinsurah. Immediately after the action, the nabob's son appeared in sight with an army of 7,000 men who were to have joined the Dutch if the fortune of the day had gone against the English. Clive exacted from the Dutch the expense of the expedition sent to defeat their plans, and having sent a haughty and defiant despatch to the Court of Directors, from whom he had long been estranged, embarked for England on the 25th of February, 1760.

1760 At the period of Clive's departure, the prince Ali Gohur was advancing a second time to the invasion of Behar.

Second invasion of Ali Gohur. On his route, he heard of the assassination of the emperor, his father, by Ghazee-ood-deen, and assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Shah Alum. The nabob Vizier joined his force in the hope of adding Behar to his possessions, and they moved down upon Patna. Colonel Calliaud, one of the great soldiers trained under Lawrence and Clive, marched up to the defence of the town, together with 15,000 of the nabob's troops under his son Meerun, and the imperial force was completely routed. The emperor, having received

a promise of assistance from the Mahrattas, marched down through the hills in the hope of surprising Moorshedabad. A.D. 1760
Colonel Calliaud followed him without loss of time, and the two armies confronted each other about thirty miles from the city; but the emperor hearing no tidings of his Mahratta auxiliaries, broke up his encampment and marched back to Patna, to which he laid close siege for nine days. All hope of prolonging the defence was fading away when Captain Knox, who had been despatched in haste by Colonel Calliaud, was seen approaching the walls with a handful of troops. He had performed the march from Moorshedabad to Patna, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, in the extraordinary space of thirteen days, marching himself on foot to encourage his men. The next day he attacked the emperor's camp, and completely defeated him and dispersed his entire force. The nabob of Purneah, who had been intriguing with him, now threw off the mask and immediately advanced to his aid with 12,000 men and thirty pieces of cannon. To the utter amazement of the natives, Captain Knox marched out with a battalion of sepoys, 200 Europeans, a squadron of cavalry, and five field pieces, and, after a conflict of six hours, completely routed the nabob. The native historian dwells with admiration upon the conflict, and describes the breathless anxiety with which the inhabitants of Patna crowded on the walls watching the exit of this gallant little band, and the delight with which they were welcomed back, covered with dust and sweat. This was another of those daring exploits which in our early career established the prestige of our arms and contributed to give us the empire of India. Colonel Calliaud and Meerun arrived after the engagement; Meerun was struck dead by a thunderbolt as he lay in his tent, and the country was rid of a monster, in whose cabinet was found a list of three hundred men of note whom he had destined to destruction.

Gallantry of Captain Knox.

Clive had become so completely identified with the existence of British power in Bengal that it seemed to the public officers as if the soul had departed from the Government on his retirement. He was succeeded by Mr. Vansittart, a man of great probity, but without any strength of character. He belonged to the Madras service, and the appointment was resented by the members of the Bengal council, who set themselves to thwart him on every occasion. To increase the confusion

Mr. Vansittart governor.

which bewildered his weak mind, three of the older members of council who had signed the contumacious letter of Clive to the Court of Directors were peremptorily dismissed by them, and their places were filled, on the rule of rotation, by men of violent passions, who regarded Mr. Vansittart with a feeling of hatred, and he was constantly outvoted in council. The death of Meerun increased the complication. Notwithstanding his profligacy, his vigour had been the main stay of his father's government, and on his death the administration fell into a state of complete anarchy. The troops besieged the palace for their arrears, and Meer Jaffier sent his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, to Calcutta to obtain pecuniary assistance from the council, but the treasure obtained at Moorshedabad had been dissipated, and there was scarcely a rupee in the treasury. It was vain to expect any further supplies from the nabob, and the council determined to depose him and to elevate Meer Cossim to the throne, on his promising to reward his benefactors with twenty lacs of rupees, to make good all arrears, and to transfer three rich districts in lower Bengal to the Company. Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Moorshedabad with a military force to persuade the nabob to resign the Government, and the old man was obliged, though not without the greatest reluctance, to yield, and retire to Calcutta. Meer Cossim met the difficulties of his position with great skill and energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments; he obliged the public officers to disgorge their plunder; he revised the land assessments, and added a crore of rupees a year to his rent-roll. He faithfully discharged all his obligations to the Company and to the members of the council, but the great object he set before himself was to emancipate himself from their control, and to become the soobadar in reality, and not in name only. He removed the seat of government from Moorshedabad to Monghyr, three hundred miles from Calcutta, and strengthened the works of that important fortress. In the course of three years he created a force of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry; he established a large arsenal, he manufactured firelocks, and cast cannon, and had made great progress in consolidating his power, when a storm was raised by the unprincipled conduct of the council board in Calcutta, which in a few months swept him from the throne.

A.D. 1760

Meer Cossim nabob.

From time immemorial a large proportion of the public revenue had been derived from the duties levied on the

1762

transport of goods through the country. Under the firman of the emperor, the merchandise of the Company intended for export by sea was allowed to pass free, under a *dustuk*, or pass, signed by the president. The battle of Plassy transferred all power to the Company, and their servants immediately embarked on the inland trade of the country, and claimed a similar exemption for their private investments. The native merchants, in order to pass their own cargoes duty free, adopted the plan of purchasing passes from the civilians, and the boys in the service were thus enabled to realise two or three thousand rupees a month. The country traders, moreover, frequently hoisted the English flag; and as it was deemed indispensable to maintain its immunity, Company's sepoys were sent to release their boats whenever they were seized by the nabob's officers. The trade of the country was paralysed, and its peace destroyed, and the two ruling powers were brought into a state of perilous antagonism. These encroachments, which were rare during Clive's administration, increased to an alarming extent on his departure. In order to remedy these disorders Mr. Vansittart proceeded to Monghyr, and concluded a convention with the nabob, which provided that the trade of the Company's servants should pay nine per cent., though that of his own subjects was often weighted with twenty-five per cent. On his return to Calcutta he found the members of council indignant at this unauthorised concession, and resolved not to pay more than two and a half per cent., and that only on the article of salt. The nabob then determined to put all parties on an equality, and abolished all transit duties throughout the provinces. The council voted this measure a crime, and demanded, as a matter of right from one whom they had raised to authority, that the native traders should be subject to the usual duties, while their own flag was exempt. This flagitious demand was indignantly resisted by the only two honest men in the council, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings.

A.D. 1762 The transit duties. 1763

The Company's factory at Patna was unfortunately at this time under the charge of Mr. Ellis, the most inveterate of Meer Cossim's opponents, and the most violent and unscrupulous of the civilians. He was resolved to bring about a change in the government, and, in a time of peace, suddenly seized on the city of Patna with a handful of European troops. The native commandant, on hearing that the soldiers were rendered

War with Meer Cossim.

incapable by drink, returned to the town and recaptured it, and Mr. Ellis and his officers, who had proceeded up the river, were overtaken and brought back prisoners. Meer Cossim was no sooner informed of this wanton aggression than he ordered every Englishman in the province to be seized. Both parties now prepared for war. The nabob augmented his army, and invited the fugitive emperor and the Vizier of Oude, who was hankering after Berar, to join his forces. The English army, consisting of 650 Europeans, 1,200 sepoys, and a troop of native cavalry, opened the campaign on the 2nd July, although the rains, the season of military inaction, had just set in. The nabob's advanced
A.D. 1763 guard at Cutwa was defeated. With the army stationed at Geriah to dispute the advance of the British force, there was a long and arduous battle of four hours, and never had native troops fought with greater resolution and valour than the newly-raised battalions of the nabob; but nothing could withstand the spirit of the English soldiers. The nabob's army abandoned its guns and encampment and fled. Early in November the English commandant carried the fortified entrenchment at Oodwa-nulla, and the nabob fled to Patna, after having ordered all his European prisoners to be put to death. His own native officers indignantly refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of brave and unarmed men; they were soldiers, they said, and not executioners. But Raymond, subsequently known as Sumroo, a name of infamy, who had been a sergeant in the French army, and was now in the employ of the nabob, offered his services, and, proceeding to the house where the prisoners were confined, poured in volley on volley through the venetian windows, till forty-eight English gentlemen, and a hundred English soldiers, lay lifeless on the floor. The campaign was completed in four months by the capture of Patna and the flight of Meer Cossim to Oude, where the nabob Vizier did not scruple to despoil him of his property.

Massacre of Europeans.

On the breaking out of the war with Meer Cossim, the Council determined to place Meer Jaffier again on the throne, but the old man, seventy-two years of age, and scarcely able to move for the leprosy, was previously required to confirm the grant of the three districts already mentioned to the Company, to concede the flagrant exemption from the transit duties in which the war had originated, and to make further donations to the civil and military officers. But in a few months, the govern-

Meer Jaffier again nabob.

ment having a large army to maintain in the field, found itself on the verge of bankruptcy, which was not to be wondered at, considering that peculation was universal, from the highest to the lowest official. Meer Jaffier was therefore brought down to Calcutta to concert the means of replenishing the treasury. The members of council demanded a payment of five lacs of rupees a month for the public service as long as the war lasted, and they insisted on a donation at first of ten lacs, and eventually of fifty lacs, for themselves, for what they had the effrontery to term "compensation for losses." These harassing importunities, combined with age and disease, served to hasten his end, and on his return to Moorshedabad he expired in January, 1765. A.D. 1765 Death of Meer Jaffier.

The making of nabobs had for the last eight years been the most lucrative occupation of the senior civil and military officers of the Company, and the fourth occasion which now arose was not to be neglected. His son nabob.

The Court of Directors, exasperated by the iniquities of their servants, had peremptorily ordered them to execute covenants to abstain from the receipt of presents from the natives of the country. But these injunctions were given to the winds, and, with the covenants on the council table, the son of Meer Jaffier was obliged to become responsible for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the members of the council board before he was allowed to succeed him. The conduct of these men for five years after the retirement of Clive was marked by a degree of profligacy of which it would not be easy to find a parallel in any age or country. Fortunes of vast amount were acquired by the most nefarious means in the shortest period; every idea of common morality was treated with sovereign contempt, while luxury, corruption, and debauchery pervaded every rank, and threatened the dissolution of government.

Six months after the close of the war with Meer Cossim, the nabob Vizier determined to take advantage of the confusion of the times to acquire possession of the province of Behar, and marched down upon Patna with a large but ill-trained force, accompanied by the fugitive emperor and the disinherited nabob of Bengal. The attack was unsuccessful, and he withdrew his encampment to Buxar. Meanwhile Major Munro, who had assumed the command of the army, found the sepoys in a state of flagrant mutiny, and demanding increased pay and large gratuities. With undaunted resolution the Major resolved Mutiny of the Sepoys. 1764

to subdue this spirit of revolt at once, and twenty-four of the ringleaders were arraigned before a court martial, consisting of native officers, and condemned to death. Twenty of them were blown away from the guns, and the discipline of the army was restored. This was the first of that series of mutinies which have broken out from time to time among the sepoys, and which in less than a century culminated in the dissolution of the whole army of the Bengal Presidency. At the close of the rains, the Major did not hesitate to lead this army, so recently in a state of insubordination, to Buxar, where the nabob Vizier had been encamped for several months. His army, consisting of 50,000 troops, was completely routed, with the loss of his entire camp and a hundred and thirty guns. The victory of Buxar was an important supplement to the victory of Plassy. It demolished the only independent power in the north of India, and it left the Company masters of the entire valley of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the sea. The Vizier fled to Bareilly, and offered to redeem his forfeited kingdom by the payment of half a crore of rupees to the Company and the army, and a large douceur to the commandant, but the negotiation came to nothing. Immediately after the victory, the emperor joined the English camp, and began to negotiate for a share of the territories of his late ally, the nabob Vizier, and the council was contemplating a division of them between him and the Company, when Clive made his appearance in Bengal.

Oct. 23rd, 1764

Battle of Buxar.

On his return to England in 1760, Clive was received with great distinction by the king and his great minister, Mr. Pitt, who pronounced him "a heaven-born general," and he was honoured with an Irish peerage. But the Court of Directors, in which his enemies were predominant, treated him not only with malevolence, but with injustice, and he was obliged to file a bill in equity to recover an annuity which Meer Jaffier had settled upon him, and which they had ungratefully sequestered. The war with Meer Cossim, the massacre of the Europeans, and the total disorganisation of the government, had dissipated the golden dreams of prosperity in which the Company had been indulging. The Proprietors began to tremble for their dividends, and they constrained the Directors, to their infinite reluctance, to send Clive out to retrieve their affairs. He landed at Calcutta on the 3rd of May, 1765, and found the whole

1760

Clive's second appointment.

1765

service steeped in corruption, and felt himself justified in asserting that "there were not five men of principle to be found "in it." His first duty was to enforce the signature of the covenants the India House had prescribed to abolish the receipt of presents. The corrupt officials questioned his right to make such a demand, but he reduced them to silence by declaring that he would dismiss every one who refused to sign them, and send him back to England; and they found it prudent to submit to his iron will. Having thus, in the course of seven weeks fully established his authority in the Government, Clive proceeded to the upper provinces to dispose of the imperial questions which awaited his decision. To prevent another rising like that of Meer Cossim, he took away the power of the sword from the nabob of Moorshedabad, and assigned him out of the revenues of the province the sum of fifty-three lacs for the expenses of his court and the administration of justice. The young nabob exclaimed with delight, "Thank God, I shall now have as many dancing-"girls as I like." The Vizier of Oude had forfeited his kingdom by the result of the war he had wantonly waged against the Company; but Clive, who was indisposed to the enlargement of the Company's territories, determined to restore it to him, with the exception of the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which he reserved for the emperor, who was now a dependant on the bounty of the English. Clive treated the vagrant prince with much consideration, and assigned him an annual payment of twenty-five lacs of rupees from the revenues of the country, in addition to the product of the districts. Looking back on the cession of Oude with the light of a century of experience, we are enabled to perceive that it was anything but judicious; and that if Clive had at that period annexed it, and given it the benefit of a British administration, as in the case of Bengal and Behar, he would have conferred a boon on the population, and benefited the Company's government.

Arrangement with the nabob. A.D. 1765

With the Vizier of Oude. 1765

With the emperor. 1765

The emperor had repeatedly offered the Company the *Dewanee*, that is, the revenues of the three provinces, and Clive now took occasion to solicit the official grant of it. Orissa was still considered one of them, although all but one district in the north belonged to the Mahrattas. This act was completed on the 12th of August, 1765, a memorable day in the political and constitutional history of British India. As a substitute for a

The Dewanee.

throne two dining-tables were put together in Clive's tent, with a chair on them, and covered with embroidery. The emperor took his seat, and transferred the government of twenty-five millions of people and a revenue of three crores to Lord Clive, as the representative of the East India Company. The Mahomedan historian of this period, scandalized by the simplicity of this great transaction, exclaims with indignation that "a business of so much "importance, which at other times would have required "the sending of wise ministers and able envoys, was done "and finished in less time than would have been taken up "in the sale of a jackass." What will appear scarcely less remarkable is the expansion of Clive's sentiments. On taking leave of the Court of Directors in 1764, he assured them that nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce them to extend their views of territorial acquisition beyond the three districts ceded to them by Meer Cossim. Before sixteen months had elapsed, he congratulated them on having become the sovereigns of three kingdoms; yet, with this demonstration of the vanity of all such resolutions, he again ventured to circumscribe the British empire in India, and after acquiring the Dewanee, declared that "to extend our "possessions beyond the Curumnassa,"—the north-west boundary of the three soobahs,—"would be a scheme so "extravagantly ambitious that no Government in its senses "would dream of it." Not more than eighty-four years after this solemn denunciation, our boundary had crossed the Indus and was extended to the Khyber Pass.

A.D. 1765 Extension of Clive's views.

This transaction was scarcely completed when the new empire, which Clive assured the Directors that "all the "princes of Hindostan could not deprive us of "for many years," was shaken to its foundation by the mutiny of the European officers. They had been accustomed to an extra allowance, called *batta*, when in the field, which the gratitude of Meer Jaffier had doubled when he was first raised to the throne, and, as it was not withdrawn when they were in cantonments, they considered it a permanent right. When the Court of Directors became responsible for the finances of the country, they found that the military expenses swallowed up its resources, and they ordered this extravagant allowance to cease; but the timid Council was deterred by the imperiousness of the officers from executing their orders. The duty of reduction was imposed on Clive as he left England, and

1766 Mutiny of the European officers.

on his arrival he announced that the double batta was to cease on the 1st of January, 1766. The officers immediately formed a confederacy to resist the order, and it was agreed that two hundred of them should resign their commissions on the same day, and, as an army of 50,000 Mahrattas was advancing to invade Behar, they felt confident that the Government would be obliged to retain their services on their own terms.

But they had to deal with a man of inflexible resolution, who declared that he must see the bayonets levelled at his throat before he would yield to their demands. Clive's inflexibility. A.D. 1766
He directed the commandants to accept the resignation of every officer, and to send him under arrest to Calcutta. He ordered up officers and cadets from Madras; he engaged the services of others in the settlement, and proceeded with those who remained faithful, to the headquarters of the army, arrested the ringleaders, and ordered them to be tried by court-martial. In the course of a fortnight this formidable conspiracy was quashed by his undaunted firmness. He was fully aware, however, that all the officers of Government had a real grievance in the preposterous policy of the Court of Directors, who limited their allowances to a pittance on which it was not possible to live, and forbad all engagement in trade, while they were surrounded with wealth, which their official position enabled them to grasp with ease. He therefore established a Society for conducting a traffic in salt, on the principle of a monopoly, the profits of which, after a large reservation for their masters in Leadenhall Street, were to be proportionately divided among their servants, civil, military, medical, and ecclesiastical. But it was speedily suppressed by the Directors, who substituted for it a commission of two and a half per cent. on the gross revenue of the province.

After a residence of twenty-two months in India, Clive was driven home by an acute attack of disease. It has fallen to the lot of few men to exercise so important and so permanent an influence on the course of human affairs. He not only made the Company sovereigns of a country larger than England, with a revenue of imperial magnitude, but he laid the foundation of an empire in the east with an irrepressible element of expansion. Still more, he established the supremacy of Europe in Asia, which has ever since been growing more complete, and is never likely to be shaken. His reception Clive in England. 1767

in England corresponded, at first, with his eminent merits, but the tables were soon turned against him. His greatness excited envy and censure. He had made many enemies in India by his stern probity and resolution, and they purchased India stock that they might wreak their vengeance on him. One Sullivan, a Director, who possessed great power at the India House, pursued him with inveterate malignity, and the Court of Directors, who had always been hostile to him, now manifested their feelings by restoring to the service those whom he had cashiered for peculation or mutiny. The king's ministers joined the hue
A.D. and cry. The Attorney-General proposed to confiscate all
1773 the donations he had received from native princes. In Parliament his conduct was stigmatised as a "mass of the "most unheard of villanies and corruption." But the feeling of the House revolted from the proposal which was made to fix a brand of infamy on him, and substituted for it a resolution that he had rendered great and meritorious
Death of Clive. services to his country. But his lofty spirit
1774 could ill brook the treatment to which he had been subject, and, under the pressure of physical and mental suffering, he put a period to his existence.

The next five years of administration were a disgrace to
1767 Five years of anarchy in Bengal. the national character. No sooner was the strong
to arm of Clive removed, than the whole system of
1772 Government was paralysed by the rapacity of the Company's servants. The covenants they had signed were treated as waste paper, and they plunged into the inland trade of the country, and prosecuted it with the strength of their official authority. The Council had neither the power and still less the inclination to restrain these abuses. The nefarious charges of commissaries, contractors and engineers drained the treasury. Every man who was permitted to make out a bill against the state made a fortune. These evils were indefinitely aggravated by the memorable famine of 1770, which swept away one-third of the population of the lower provinces.

SECTION II.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT MADRAS AND BOMBAY, 1761—1772.

HAVING thus narrated the progress of events in the Gangetic valley, we turn to the transactions in the Deccan during
Affairs at Madras. this period, and to the intrigues, perfidy, and hostilities in which the Mahrattas, the Nizam,

and Hyder Ali, were incessantly involved. The extinction of the French power in 1761 placed the protégé of the English, Mahomed Ali, in the position of nabob of the Carnatic. Among the native princes of the time he was distinguished by his imbecility and his unscrupulousness. His army was a mere rabble, and the Company's Government found itself encumbered with the expense of defending a territory of 50,000 square miles without the command of its revenues. The country had been without any settled government for twenty years; it had been despoiled by successive invasions, and it was now administered by a court profligate and wasteful, supported by loans raised at Madras on usurious interest, which impaired the strength of those who borrowed them, and the morals of those who provided them. The governor of Madras was constrained to make a demand of fifty lacs from the nabob to discharge the obligations incurred in seating him on the throne; but his treasury was empty, and he proposed to him to obtain funds from the spoliation of several chiefs, and more particularly of the raja of Tanjore, from whom a contribution of twenty-four lacs in four instalments was extorted. The peace of Paris restored to the French all the possessions they had held in India, and provided, moreover, that Mahomed Ali should be acknowledged by both parties nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabut Jung soobadar of the Deccan. He had been deposed eighteen months before by his brother Nizam Ali, who, on hearing that his right to the throne had been acknowledged by these two great powers, caused him to be assassinated.

Conduct of Mahomed Ali. A.D. 1762

Spoliation of Tanjore. 1763

Peace of Paris. 1763

On the memorable 12th of August, 1765, Clive obtained from the emperor, at the same time with the Dewanee, a firman releasing the nabob of the Carnatic from all dependence on the Nizam, and a grant of the northern Sircars to the Company. These districts on the Coromandel coast had furnished Bussy with the sinews of war, but, on his departure, had been wrested from the French by Colonel Forde. Nizam Ali was not disposed to submit to the alienation of this province, and on hearing that an English force was marching down to occupy it, threatened to send his army and exterminate it. The government of Madras was at this time in the hands of Mr. Palk, who had gone to India as one of the Company's chaplains but renounced his orders, went into the civil service, in which he amassed a noble fortune, and on his return to

The Northern Sircars. 1765

England obtained a baronetcy. The feeble Council of the Presidency directed the commander to suspend all military operations and proceed to Hyderabad to negotiate a treaty; and on the 12th November, 1766, he concluded the humiliating convention which provided that the Company should hold the northern Sircars, which had been conferred on them by the supreme authority in India, as vassals of the contemptible soobadar of the Deccan, paying a tribute of seven lacs of rupees a year. But the Madras Presidency went further, and involved the Company in the intricate web of Deccan politics, by agreeing to furnish the Nizam with two battalions of infantry and six pieces of cannon, "to settle everything right and "proper in the affairs of his highness' government," well knowing that his immediate object was to employ them in attacking Hyder Ali.

A.D. 1766

Disgraceful conduct of Madras.

The rise and progress of this extraordinary chief, one of the three men who during the last two centuries have risen from obscurity to be the founders of great kingdoms in India, will now demand the reader's attention. Mysore was one of the provinces of the Hindoo empire of Beejanuger, extinguished in 1564, and fell to the lot of a family of Hindoo princes, who gradually enlarged their territories, and, though repeatedly invaded by the Mahrattas, maintained their independence for two centuries, till they were dethroned by Hyder Ali. His family emigrated from the Punjab, and his father raised himself to the post of head-constable and obtained the command of a small body of troops. Hyder was born about the year 1702, and remained without distinction for forty-seven years. It was not before 1749, during the struggles of the French and English for power in the Deccan, that he attracted the attention of the regent of Mysore at the siege of Deonhully, and was promoted to an important command. This brief epitome affords no space for narrating the progress of his career; and it is sufficient to notice that he augmented his resources by false musters, and by his incomparable tact and duplicity gradually absorbed the chief authority in the state. Having at length acquired the absolute command of the army, he constrained the feeble raja to resign the sceptre to him and to retire into private life on an annuity, which was soon after curtailed. He was a brave soldier, a bold and skilful general, and a brilliant administrator. Like Sevajee and Runjeet Sing, he was unable to read or write, and it may

Rise and progress of Hyder.

1702 His birth.

1749 His first distinction.

1761

be questioned whether either of them could have passed the modern test of talent in a competitive examination, but they could all three create empires and govern them. Hyder became master of Mysore at the age of sixty, and devoted himself for twenty years to the aggrandisement of his power at the expense of his neighbours. Within two years he extended his authority up to the Kistna, and overran the territory of Bednore on the summit of the western ghauts, which overlooks the maritime province of Canara. The capital, then esteemed the most wealthy city in the Deccan, fell without a struggle, and Hyder always attributed his subsequent prosperity to the treasure he obtained in it. He had previously cast off the title of Hyder Naik, or constable, and assumed the dignity of Hyder Ali Khan Bahadoor, and he now introduced a style of greater splendour and etiquette into his court.

A.D. 1763 — Acquires Bednore.

The Peshwa, Ballajee Rao, died of a broken heart on hearing of the fatal battle of Paniput, and was succeeded by his son Mahdoo Rao, then eighteen years of age. The Nizam determined to take advantage of the weakness of the Mahrattas, to recover the districts his predecessor had been obliged to cede to them in their palmy days, and having formed an alliance with Bhonslay, raja of Nagpore, marched upon Poona, which he plundered and partially burnt. Raghoba, the uncle of the Peshwa, retaliated by laying Hyderabad under contributions, and the two armies met on the banks of the Godavery. Before the battle, Raghoba had managed to buy off the raja of Nagpore by the promise of lands valued at thirty-two lacs a year, and on the eve of the battle he accordingly deserted the Nizam, who was defeated with great slaughter. But as the Mahrattas were incensed at the raja for joining the Nizam, and the Nizam was annoyed by his desertion at a critical moment, they united their forces, invaded his kingdom, and stripped him of the greater portion of the territory he had acquired by his perfidy.

War between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and Hyder. — 1761, 1763, 1766

Mysore had hitherto been regarded by the Mahrattas as a reserve field for plunder when there happened to be no other marauding expedition on hand, but the rapid rise of a new power under Hyder Ali, with an army of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, one half of which consisted of well-disciplined battalions, aroused the alarm and the indignation of the Poona cabinet, and it was determined to chastise his audacity. An army was accordingly despatched into the country, and Hyder was

Mahrattas attack Hyder.

A.D. brought for the first time into contact with the Mahrattas,
1765 and suffered a signal defeat. The next year the Peshwa again took the field, and the Mysore army was a second time defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, and Hyder considered himself fortunate in being relieved from the Mahrattas by restoring the greater portion of the districts he had usurped, and paying an indemnity of thirty-two lacs of rupees. To compensate for these losses he invaded the maritime province of Malabar, which had never been subjugated by the Mahomedan arms. The gallant Nairs, or military chieftains, offered a noble resistance, but the whole province was nevertheless occupied, and the Mysore flag was planted on the towers of Calicut, the chief of which was still designated the Zamorin, as in the days of Albuquerque, two centuries and a half before. From these schemes of conquest Hyder was recalled to defend his own dominions and to resist a confederacy of the Mahrattas and the Nizam, into which
1766 the Company was unwillingly drawn by the fatal article in the treaty of the 12th November, 1766, which bound the Madras Government to assist the Nizam with an auxiliary force. He now claimed the fulfilment of this engagement, and, in an evil hour, Colonel Smith was sent with an army to co-operate with him and the Mahrattas in coercing
1767 Hyder. The Mahrattas forestalled the Nizam, and crossing the Kistna in January, let loose their predatory horse on Hyder's northern dominions, and constrained him to purchase their retreat by the payment of thirty lacs of rupees.

Repeated defeat of Hyder.
1765

Colonel Smith, on his arrival in the Nizam's camp, found that he was basely negotiating with Hyder for a joint attack on the English army, and he withdrew with the bulk of his force to defend the frontier of the Carnatic. The bargain with Hyder was completed by an engagement on the part of the Nizam to fall on the British force on receiving an immediate payment of twenty lacs of rupees and a promise of six lacs of annual tribute. The confederate armies numbered 42,000 cavalry and 28,000 infantry, with a hundred guns, while the British force did not exceed 1,030 sabres and 5,800 bayonets, with sixteen guns. With this disproportionate force Colonel Smith twice defeated the allies and captured sixty-four pieces of cannon. During these operations Hyder's eldest son Tippoo, then seventeen years of age, suddenly advanced to Madras with

Operations of the British force.

Col. Smith defeats the confederates.
1767

a body of 5,000 horse, and plundered the country houses of the Madras gentry, and the members of Government only escaped being captured by the eagerness of the Mysore troops for plunder. In the meantime, the Government of Bengal sent an expedition by sea under Colonel Peach, to create a diversion in the Nizam's territories. He landed on the coast, carried everything before him, and advanced to Warungul, within eighty miles of Hyderabad, and the Nizam deserted Hyder, and hastened to make his peace with the English.

The Nizam's territories attacked.

The affairs of the Nizam were now in a desperate condition. He had been defeated in two engagements; his northern territories were occupied and his capital was threatened; and the Madras President, Mr. Palk, might have dictated his own terms. It might have been expected that he would, at least, have declared the former treaty annulled by the monstrous perfidy of the Nizam: but, after several weeks of negotiation, he concluded another treaty, the most disgraceful which had ever sullied the annals of the Company. It confirmed the dishonourable engagement to pay tribute for the northern Sircars, which had been granted by the imperial firman "to the Company, their heirs and descendants for ever and "ever, free, exempt and safe from all demands of the "imperial dewanee office and the imperial court," and it postponed the possession of the Guntoor Sirear till the death of the Nizam's brother, Basalut Jung, to whom he had illegally assigned it. Hyder Ali, who had been a sovereign prince for seven years, was contemptuously described in the treaty as Hyder Naik, or constable, a rebel and a usurper, and it was stipulated that the English Government should wrest the Carnatic Balaghaut, the table-land of Mysore, from him, and hold it as a fief of the Nizam on the payment of seven lacs a year, and likewise pay *chout* for it to the Mahrattas, who were no parties to the treaty. To crown their folly the Madras Council again involved their masters in all the intrigues and dangers of Deccan politics, by engaging to assist the Nizam, the most treacherous prince in that age of perfidy, with two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery whenever he should require them. The treaty was reprobated by the Court of Directors, who remarked, "We cannot take a view of your conduct "from the commencement of your negotiations for the "Sircars, without the strongest disapprobation, and when "we see the opulent fortunes acquired by our servants since

Disgraceful treaty with the Nizam.

A.D. 1768

"that period, it gives but too much weight to the public "opinion that this rage for negotiations, treaties and "alliances, has private advantage for its object more than "the public good." A truer verdict was never pronounced in Leadenhall Street. During this disgraceful decade the Madras Presidency was sunk in peculation and profligacy as deeply as that of Bengal, with the additional vice of official poltroonery.

Hyder, who was fully cognizant of this treaty which treated him as an usurper, and bound the English Government to dismember his dominions, saw that he had now to maintain a struggle for his political existence, and he prepared for the conflict. An expedition from the Bombay Presidency had destroyed a portion of his fleet and captured some of his towns on the Malabar coast; but he speedily recovered them, and returned to prosecute the war in his eastern districts. In the management of the war into which the Madras Council had so wantonly plunged, they exhibited the same spirit of infatuation as in their negotiations. Two "field deputies" were sent to control the movements of the force, and the supply of the commissariat was entrusted to the imbecile nabob of the Carnatic, who disappointed the Government, as a matter of course. But notwithstanding every disadvantage, Colonel Smith overran half Hyder's territories and captured some of his principal fortresses. Under the dread of a simultaneous invasion of the Mahrattas, Hyder deemed it prudent to bend to circumstances, and offered to cede the Baramahal and to pay down ten lacs of rupees; but the President, inflated by recent successes, advanced the most extravagant and inadmissible demands, and Hyder prepared for a mortal struggle. Colonel Smith, who had remonstrated with the Council on the folly of their proposals, was recalled to Madras, and the tide now began to turn against the Company. The siege of Bangalore was raised, and Hyder, with his usual energy and rapidity, recovered all the forts he had lost; descended into the Baramahal, and turned south to Tanjore, and having exacted four lacs of rupees from the raja, moved up northwards towards Madras. The consternation of the community may be readily conceived. It was now the turn of the bewildered Council to sue for an accommodation, but after a fruitless negotiation, they obtained an armistice of only twelve days when they had asked for forty. Hyder resumed his course of desolation. He drew Colonel

A.D. 1768 War with Hyder.

1768 Col. Smith's success.

Hyder dictates peace. 1769

Smith, who had been reinstated in his command, to a distance of one hundred and forty miles from Madras, and determined to bring the war to a termination by dictating peace under its walls. Placing himself at the head of 6,000 of his best cavalry he marched a hundred and thirty miles in three days and a half, and suddenly making his appearance at St. Thomé, about four miles from Madras, demanded that an order should be sent to stop the pursuit of Colonel Smith, who was following him with the greatest rapidity, and that the President, Mr. Du Pré, who had succeeded Mr. Palk, might be sent to his camp to treat with him. Hyder was master of the situation and dictated his own terms. A treaty was concluded on the 3rd April, the salient points of which were a mutual restitution of conquests, and an alliance offensive and defensive. Hyder was to be assisted by a British contingent if he was attacked by any of the powers in the Deccan, and for the third time did the Madras Council involve the Company in the ever shifting and perilous politics of the Deccan. Thus ended the second Mysore war, with the loss of all the acquisitions which had been made and all the treasure which had been expended, and above all, of the prestige of the English arms. A.D. 1769

Hyder and the Mahrattas at war.

Hyder Ali, having settled his dispute with the Madras Government, and obtained the promise of its support, withheld the payments due to the Mahrattas and invaded their territories. The Peshwa assembled a large army with the determination to subjugate Mysore. Hyder's forts were rapidly reduced and his districts laid waste, and he was induced to make overtures of peace; but as the Peshwa demanded a crore of rupees the negotiation was broken off. Hyder then advanced with 35,000 men and forty guns to Milgota, where he found himself entrapped into a false position. After sustaining an incessant cannonade for eight days he commenced a stealthy retreat by night to Seringapatam, twenty-two miles distant. It was, however, discovered, and the Mahrattas assaulted the fugitive army with great vigour, and it was saved from annihilation only by their eagerness for plunder. Hyder's capital was besieged for five weeks, and he importuned the President of Madras for that assistance which he was bound to afford by the recent treaty. The President and Council considered it of vital consequence for the honour and the interests of the Company to support him, but they were overruled by the 1770 1771

interference of Sir John Lindsay, whom the prime minister, deluded by the representation of the nabob of the Carnatic, had, by an act of incredible folly, sent out as the king's representative to his court. The authority of the Company's Government was at once superseded by that of the Crown, and the profligate nabob not only set the Madras Council at defiance, but induced Sir John to insist on an alliance with the Mahrattas. Hyder Ali, deprived of British support, was reduced to extremities, and obliged to purchase peace by the payment of thirty-six lacs of rupees and submitting to an annual tribute of fourteen lacs, and making a cession of territory which reduced the kingdom of Mysore to smaller limits than it comprised at the beginning of the century. He never forgave or forgot this desertion, and ten years later exacted a fearful penalty.

A.D. 1772 Hyder's loss of territory.

Eight years after the Mahrattas had been expelled from Hindostan by the battle of Paniput, the Peshwa equipped an army of 50,000 horse and a large body of infantry, with a numerous artillery, to recover their footing, and renew their spoliations. The first operations of this force were directed against the Rajpoots, from whom they exacted ten lacs of rupees; and then against the Jauts, who agreed to pay them sixty-five lacs; after which they overran the districts of the Rohillas, and ravaged the whole of the Dooab, or country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, and returned to Delhi before the rains. The emperor, after the arrangement made with Lord Clive in 1765, had continued to reside at Allahabad, in the tranquil enjoyment of the annuity settled on him, and of the revenues of Corah and Allahabad, while the districts around Delhi still attached to the Crown were administered by Nujeeb-ood-dowlah, and, on his death, by his son Zabita Khan. The emperor was naturally desirous of mounting the throne of his ancestors and establishing his court in the ancient capital. The Mahrattas were equally desirous of seating him on it, and obtaining the important influence of his name. In spite of the advice of the Council in Calcutta, who warned him of the danger of such a movement, he threw himself into their arms, and was by them installed on the 25th December.

1769 Mahratta expedition to Hindostan.

1770

The next year the Mahrattas again overran Rohilcund, and the Rohilla chiefs were driven to solicit the aid of the Vizier of Oude. There are few transactions, involved in greater obscurity than the negotiations between the Mah-

rattas, the Rohillas, and the Vizier, on this memorable occasion. It would appear that the Mahrattas offered to retire on receiving forty lacs of rupees, or a bond for that amount from the Rohilla chiefs, but guaranteed by the Vizier himself. The Vizier endorsed the bond, and received an instalment of five lacs from Hafiz Ruhmut, the Rohilla chief, but neglected to pay any portion of it to the Mahrattas. Meanwhile, the Mahrattas offered to cancel the demand on the Rohillas if they would join in an attack on Oude, receiving half the conquered territories; but they refused to listen to the proposal, and cast in their lot with the nabob Vizier. Several detachments of Mahrattas laid waste a portion of Rohilcund, but they were held in check by the combined force of the Rohillas, of the Vizier, and of the English brigade sent to protect the country. The Peshwa Mahdoo Rao, meanwhile, died at Poona, and his successor planned an expedition to the Carnatic, and recalled the whole of the Mahratta force from Hindostan, and they quitted it laden with the booty of three campaigns. At the close of the previous year the emperor, unable any longer to support the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, met them in the field, but his army was completely defeated, and he was obliged to open the gates of Delhi to their hostile battalions, and submit to all their demands.

A.D. 1772

Negotiations with the Rohillas.

1773

The British Government in India at this period presented a singular anomaly. The agents of a London trading Company had acquired the sovereignty of provinces larger and more populous than England. They were making war and peace, putting up and pulling down thrones, and disposing of princely revenues. Their servants in India, with salaries of three and four hundred rupees a month, were coming home, year after year, with colossal fortunes, and setting up establishments which cast the ancient aristocracy into the shade. The Indian nabobs, as they were called, were exposed on the stage and avoided in society, from the impression that their sudden and enormous wealth had been acquired by injustice and oppression. The machinery of the Government at home had been constructed for the management of commerce, and was ill suited for the administration of an empire. The posts in India which afforded the means of amassing these ambitious fortunes were at the disposal of the Directors, who were elected by the votes of the Proprietors. A vote was consequently considered so valuable

Reform of the Government.

that in 1771 the ship's husbands, then a wealthy and powerful body, bought fifteen lacs of rupees of stock to create three hundred votes. The India House became a scene of jobbery and corruption never seen in England before. The
A.D. Indian Government was equally fetid in London and in
1771 Calcutta. A general cry was raised for Parliamentary investigation, which was redoubled by the financial embarrassments of the Company. The frauds of their servants in India had exhausted their treasury. With an annual revenue of two crores and a half of rupees, they owed more than a crore and a quarter in England, and a crore in Calcutta. It was in these circumstances of impending bankruptcy that the Court of Proprietors voted themselves a dividend at the rate of twelve and a half per cent. The Court of Directors borrowed of the bank of England as long as the bank would lend, and then solicited a loan of a million from the English exchequer, to prevent the doors of the India House from being closed. The ministers referred them to Parliament, which was consequently convened
1772 earlier than usual. A select Committee was appointed to collect evidence, when the scenes of violence and iniquity by which the British name had been disgraced in India were, for the first time, laid bare to the nation, and Parliament determined at once to take the regulation of Indian affairs into its own hands. The Company protested against this invasion of their chartered rights, but the universal odium they had incurred throughout the country placed them at the mercy of the ministry. The vicious constitution of their corporation was reformed. The Directors were to be chosen for four years instead of one; the votes of the Proprietors were to be limited to four, whatever amount of
1773 Regulating Act. stock they might hold; and twelve hundred of the proprietors were disfranchised at a stroke. The governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General upon two lacs and a half a year, with a Council consisting of four, on one lac each, and a Supreme Court was to be established in Calcutta on the model of the courts of Westminster, with a Chief Justice and three puisne judges. The Act, which was designated the "Regulating Act," purified the home administration, but it shook the British power in India to its foundation.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION I.

MR. HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION TO THE DEPARTURE OF MR. FRANCIS.

WARREN HASTINGS was appointed in the Act the first Governor-General of India. He had landed in Calcutta as a writer on the Company's establishment in 1750, and was employed for the first seven years in appraising silks and muslins and copying invoices. Warren Hastings's early career. A.D. 1750 The great events which followed the battle of Plassy afforded the first opportunity of developing his talents, and he was selected by Colonel Clive to represent the Government at the durbar of Moorshedabad, then the most important of subordinate offices in the service. 1760 Three years after he came by rotation into the Council board, and offered a strenuous resistance to those profligate measures of his colleagues which brought on the war with Meer Cossim. He returned to England after fifteen years' service comparatively poor, while Mr. Vansittart, who sailed in the same ship with him, was reported to have taken home little short of fifty lacs. 1765 After a residence of several years in England the Court of Directors restored him to their service, and appointed him second member of Council at Madras, where he exhibited such zeal and ability as to be selected to take charge of the Government of Bengal. Hastings found the administration in a state of complete anarchy. Governor of Bengal. 1772 The double Government established by Clive, which was considered a masterpiece of policy, had turned out to be the curse of the country. The management of the revenue, which embraced the most important functions of Government, was in the hands of natives, acting under the venal court of the nabob, though nominally under the control of the English Resident, and they were practically without any control whatever. The people were oppressed by the native functionaries and zemindars, who enriched themselves at the expense of the state. Supervisors were appointed in 1769 to check these abuses, but they knew nothing of the language or of the people, or of the value of the lands, and became mere tools in the hands of their rapacious banians, or head officials. The Court of Directors determined therefore "to stand forth as Duan," as they termed it, and

to take on themselves the collection and management of the revenues through the agency of their own European servants. To Hastings was committed the arduous duty of carrying out this difficult policy, and he entered upon it with his accustomed resolution. A new revenue settlement was formed under the immediate direction of members of the Council. The charge of civil and criminal jurisprudence was committed to the covenanted servants of the Company,

A.D. 1773 His vigorous reforms.

and the treasury was removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, which became from that time forward the capital of Bengal. Without the aid of a lawyer, he drew up a simple code of regulations for the courts he had established, which exhibited in a remarkable degree the versatility of his talents. All these organic changes were completed in the brief space of six months.

The first military operations of Hastings's administration exercised unhappily a very inauspicious influence on his reputation. The Vizier had long eagerly coveted the possession of Rohilcund, and the Mahrattas had no sooner returned to their own country, as already stated, than he importuned Hastings to assist him in seizing it, with the offer of forty lacs of rupees, as well as a subsidy of more than two lacs of rupees a month for the pay of the troops employed in the service. He represented that the Rohillas had offered to pay him forty lacs to deliver them from the Mahrattas, that they had been expelled by his army, aided by a brigade of Company's troops, and that the Rohilla chiefs now repudiated the obligation. The Vizier's tempting offer was made at a time when the Court of Directors, overwhelmed with debt and disgrace, were importuning the Council by every vessel for remittances. The treasury at Calcutta was not only empty, but more than a crore of rupees in debt. The nabob wanted territory and Hastings wanted money, and he persuaded his conscience that the statements of the Vizier were true, and that the ingratitude of the Rohillas merited punishment, more especially as this act of retributive justice would likewise promote the interests of the Company.

The Rohilla war.

Hastings proceeded to Benares and concluded a treaty with the nabob to that effect, and at the same time restored to him the two districts of Corah and Allahabad, which Clive had taken from him and made over to the emperor, and which the emperor had transferred under compulsion to the Mahrattas. For this grant the treasury was enriched by a further payment of fifty lacs. The nabob

1773 Treaty with nabob.

Vizier, having secured the aid of an English force, demanded of the Rohilla chief the balance of the bond, of which only five lacs had been paid. Hafiz Ruhmut offered to make good whatever the Vizier had actually paid to the Mahrattas, though they had left the country by orders from Poona and not through any exertions on his part; but as nothing had been paid them, the offer was treated with contempt. The Rohilla chief, seeing the storm ready to burst, offered to compromise the claim, but the perfidious Vizier raised his demand to two crores. The Rohillas determined, therefore, to defend themselves to the last extremity, and brought 40,000 troops into the field, but they were defeated and dispersed, and the brave Hafiz Ruhmut fell with three of his sons. The Vizier remained beyond the reach of fire, but as soon as the battle was decided let his troops loose to plunder. "We have the "honour of the day," exclaimed the English commandant, "and these banditti the profit of it." This transaction is one of the few stains on the bright and honourable career of Hastings. It is doubtless true that the Rohillas, who had recently occupied the country, were, like all other Afghan tribes in Hindostan and the Deccan, dangerous and formidable neighbours, and might at any time have joined the Mahrattas and overrun Oude, which the Company's Government was bound to defend, but the war unquestionably originated in the rapacity of the Vizier and also in the necessities of the treasury in Calcutta. The assertion that half a million of people were driven across the Ganges, and that "the country became a howling wilderness," was an oriental figure of speech.

A.D. 1774 Rohillas defeated.

Six months after the conquest of the Rohillas, the four judges of the Supreme Court, and the three new councillors, landed in Calcutta, and the new Government was proclaimed on the 20th November. Of the councillors, Colonel Monson was a scion of nobility and had served on the Coast; General Clavering was the personal favourite of the king, and all powerful with the prime minister; and Mr. Francis, the reputed author of *Junius*, was equally distinguished by his talents and his malignity. They came out with the impression that the Government was a compound of tyranny and corruption, and that Hastings was a monster of iniquity whom it was the duty of virtuous men to oppose in every mode. At the first meeting of Council in which Hastings presided as Governor-General, they outvoted him, and at once divested

New Government in Calcutta. 1774

him of all power in the Government. They proceeded to recall Mr. Middleton, whom Hastings had placed as the Company's representative at Lucknow, and sent Mr. Bristow one of their friends to occupy the post, thereby proclaiming the extinction of Hastings's authority throughout Hindostan. They ordered the officer in command in Oude peremptorily to withdraw the brigade, and to demand the payment of all arrears from the Vizier within a fortnight, and thus compromised the safety of Oude, and the faith of the British Government.

During these transactions the Vizier died, upon which Mr. Francis declared that every engagement between the Company's Government and that of Oude was thereby cancelled, except that which referred to the payment of arrears. Mr. Francis accordingly constrained his son to enter into a new treaty, and though he had denounced Hastings for "letting out "British troops for hire to the Vizier," not only repeated the bargain, but increased the hire of the troops. He likewise obliged the Vizier to cede to the Company the province of Benares, valued at twenty-two lacs a year. The deceased Vizier had accumulated two crores of treasure, which were buried in the vaults of the zenana. His widow and his mother, historically known as the "begums," claimed the whole of this property under the terms of a will, which, however, was never produced. The Vizier was under heavy obligations to the Company, and the troops, 100,000 in number, were twelve months in arrear. The treasure was state property and answerable in the first instance for its debts, but Mr. Bristow constrained the Vizier to affix his seal to a deed assigning three-fourths of it to the princesses, under the guarantee of the Government in Calcutta. The troops mutinied for pay, and it was reported that 20,000 were slaughtered, but the state was preserved from a revolution by the presence of the Company's brigade.

A.D. 1775 Violent conduct towards Oude.

As soon as it became known that Hastings's authority was extinct, and that the surest mode of obtaining the favour of those who were now in the seat of power was to bring accusations against him, a swarm of informers hastened to Calcutta and filled the antechambers of his opponents. Charges of every variety were rapidly manufactured and eagerly welcomed, and the triumvirate placed it on the minutes of Council "that there "appeared to be no species of peculation from which the

1775 Accusations against Hastings.

"Honourable the Governor-General had thought it reason-
"able to abstain, and by which he had amassed a fortune
"of forty lacs of rupees in two years." The most important and memorable of these charges was that brought forward by Nunkoomar. He was by birth a brahmin, who had taken an active part in public affairs at Moorshedabad and Calcutta, and had accumulated a crore of rupees by intrigue and treachery. He had been repeatedly denounced to the Council by the Court of Directors for his knavery. On this occasion he came forward and offered to impeach Hastings of having received a bribe of three lacs and a half from Munee begum, who had been appointed by him to superintend the nabob's household.

The hostile councillors proposed to confront him with the Governor-General in the Council chamber, but Hastings asserted that he knew what was due to the character and dignity of the head of the Government, and would not preside at the board to be criminated by the dregs of society. He dissolved the sitting and retired, when his opponents placed General Clavering in the chair, and called in Nunkoomar, who descanted on the venality of Hastings, and produced a letter from Munee begum, which testified to the payment of the douceur. The Council immediately voted that the Governor-General had clandestinely and illegally received the sum of three lacs and a half, and should be called upon to refund it to the treasury. The begum denied all knowledge of the letter; the best Persian experts pronounced the signature a forgery, but the seal appeared to be genuine, and the mystery was not cleared up till, after Nunkoomar's death, facsimiles of the seals of every eminent character in the state were found in his cabinet. For the vindication of his own character Hastings now brought an action for conspiracy in the Supreme Court against Nunkoomar and several others. The judges admitted the charge, and held him to bail.

Hastings's dignified conduct. A.D. 1775

Eight weeks after the commencement of this suit, a native merchant in Calcutta brought an action for forgery against Nunkoomar. It had been instituted originally in the old mayor's court, and Nunkoomar was committed to prison, but released through the intervention of Hastings. On the establishment of the Supreme Court this suit, together with all others then pending, was transferred to its files. The forgery was established by the clearest evidence, before a jury consisting

Trial and execution of Nunkoomar. 1775

of the most respectable European residents in Calcutta, and he was found guilty and hung in the most conspicuous portion of the town. This transaction was long considered the culminating crime of Hastings's administration. It was asserted in high quarters that the brahmin was murdered by Hastings through the forms of law, and that the execution was designed to stifle all further accusations. But time, the vindicator of truth, has dispelled the clouds of prejudice. The coincidence of the charge of Hastings against Nunkoomar and of the native against Nunkoomar was purely accidental. There has never been a particle of evidence to connect Hastings with the forgery suit, and his own assertion that he had neither prompted nor encouraged it must be considered conclusive. The sentence, however conformable to the sanguinary laws of England at the time, was essentially iniquitous. The crime was not capital by the law of India, nor in the opinion of the native community, and it was committed before the Supreme Court brought the weight of English law to press on India. The odium of the deed is divided between the judges of the Supreme Court and the triumvirate who, possessed of supreme power, declined to suspend the execution of the sentence pending a reference to England, which they must have known would have saved his life.

The Court of Directors, to whom both parties had appealed against each other, passed a vote of censure on Hastings, but it was overruled by the Court of Proprietors, who entertained an exalted opinion of his merits. During the height of the conflict in Calcutta, Hastings, worried by the opposition and insults of his opponents, had instructed his agent in London to tender his resignation, but two or three months later, having recovered the tone of his mind, revoked the authority. The agent, however, seeing the strength of the current against Hastings both in Leadenhall Street and Downing Street, took upon himself to intimate to the Court of Directors that he was authorised to offer his patron's retirement from office. Then ensued several months of violent disputes in the Court between Hastings's friends and enemies, which resulted in a resolution by the majority that he had positively resigned his post, although his letters revoking his first instructions were before them, and they proceeded to fill up the vacancy. The intelligence of these transactions created a serious convulsion in Calcutta. General Clavering, the senior member of council, determined to

A.D. 1776 Hastings tenders his resignation.

take possession of the Government, and was sworn in by his colleagues as Governor-General; but Hastings, who repudiated the fact of his resignation, refused to give up the keys of the fort or of the treasury, and issued his commands to all civil and military officers to obey no orders but his own. The dispute was drifting into hostilities, which must have been fatal to the public interests, when Hastings brought it to a safe issue by offering to refer the question to the arbitrament of the judges of the Supreme Court, who, after long and anxious deliberation, continued till four in the morning, decided that any assumption of authority by Sir John Clavering would be illegal. He died shortly after, and Hastings recovered his authority for a time by his own casting vote; but he was systematically opposed by Mr. Francis upon every question, political, military, and administrative. The contest ended, according to the barbarous practice of the period, in a duel, in which Mr. Francis was wounded, and soon after returned to England.

Violence and death of Gen. Clavering. A.D. 1777

Duel between Hastings and Francis. 1780

SECTION II.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

To resume the thread of affairs in the Mahratta commonwealth, the constitution of which was passing through great and important changes. The four chiefs—Sindia and Holkar, the Gaikwar and the raja of Nagpore—originally the generals of the Peshwa, were outgrowing his authority, and developing into independent princes, and enjoyed two-thirds of the Mahratta revenues. The military force of the state, consisting of 100,000 splendid cavalry, with a proportionate strength of foot and artillery, was no longer under the single control of the Peshwa; a large portion of it acted under the command of these princes, each one of whom had his own individual interests to pursue. The young Peshwa, Mahdoo Rao, little inferior to any of his race in the cabinet or in the field, died in November, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Narrain Rao, who recalled the troops from the banks of the Ganges, as already stated. After a brief reign of nine months he was assassinated, as the Mahrattas universally believed, by the orders of his uncle Raghoba, a

Progress of Mahratta affairs. 1772

brave soldier, but an inveterate intriguer, always imprudent and never fortunate. He took possession of the vacant throne, and at once plunged into hostilities with the Nizam, and constrained him to make a large cession of territory, which, however, by an act of infatuation, he restored to him. He then proceeded against Hyder, from whom he obtained nothing but empty promises. From these southern expeditions he was recalled to the seat of government by a formidable confederacy raised against him by the leading ministers at Poona. They had received intimation that the widow of the deceased Peshwa was about to become a mother, and they conveyed her for security to a hill fortress, taking the precaution of sending with her a number of brahmin females in the same condition, to meet the contingency of her giving birth to a daughter. The widow was confined of a son, who was installed as the Peshwa Mahdoo Rao the second, and a regency was formed to conduct the Government. Raghoba hastened towards Poona, and with the aid of Morari Rao of Gooty, the greatest Mahratta general of the age, who had measured swords with Lawrence and Olive, inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of the regency; but, instead of following up his victory by advancing at once upon the capital, and taking advantage of the consternation which prevailed, he turned off to Boorhanpore, and moved across the Nerbudda. There he was joined by Sindia and Holkar, as they returned from Rohilcund, and advanced into Guzerat to secure the aid of the Gaikwar's troops.

A.D. 1773 Raghoba assassinates the Peshwa.

1774 Raghoba's movements.

Raghoba now opened negotiations with the President of Bombay, and made an offer of money and territory, in return for military support, which was eagerly embraced. The Company, whose possessions had been confined for a century to Bombay, had always coveted the acquisition of the harbour of Bassein, and the island of Salsette, separated from it by a narrow channel. The President offered to assist Raghoba with a body of troops, on his providing funds for their maintenance, and ceding these coveted possessions in perpetuity to the Company; but he could not bring himself to alienate the island and the harbour, which the Mahrattas prized the more highly as they had been wrested from a European power, the Portuguese, about thirty years before. An engagement was nevertheless concluded with him, and a British force of 1,500 men sent to his aid. While the

1775 Raghoba negotiates with Bombay.

1739

negotiation was pending, the Bombay authorities received information that a large armament was about to be sent from Goa to recover Bassein and Salsette, and as they considered that the Portuguese were likely to be more troublesome neighbours than the Mahrattas, proceeded to take summary possession of them. Meanwhile, the regency at Poona having succeeded, by large offers, in detaching Sindia and Holkar from the cause of Raghoba, sent a large force to attack him. He was routed at Wassud, and fled with 1,000 horse to the encampment of Colonel Keating, who had by this time reached Surat with the Bombay detachment. A.D. 1774

A treaty was then presented for his acceptance, which stipulated that the Bombay Government should furnish him with a body of 3,000 troops to reinstate him as Peshwa, on condition of his ceding territory of the annual value of nineteen lacs of rupees, making an immediate payment of eighteen lacs, and irrevocably ceding Salsette and Bassein; and he could no longer continue to refuse this demand. It was this treaty, called the treaty of Surat, which involved the Company in the first Mahratta war, and it was concluded without the knowledge of Hastings and the Supreme Council. The Bombay authorities having thus embarked in a war with the regency, ordered Colonel Keating to march down on Poona. He found the Mahratta army strongly posted at Arras, and it was on this field that the English and Mahratta forces met for the first time since the gentlemen of the factory of Surat had gallantly repulsed Sevajee in 1669. The disproportion of the armies was as ten to one, but the Mahratta generals sustained a signal defeat and fled precipitately across the Nerbudda, after having thrown their guns into it. The Gaikwar, who had hitherto held aloof, now hastened to join Raghoba, and promised to furnish him with a large supply of money and to secure to the Company a share of the revenues of Broach. The Mahratta fleet was simultaneously crippled by the English commodore. The campaign had been prosperous beyond the highest expectation, and the insignificant Presidency of Bombay had obtained territory of the value of twenty-four lacs a year. The Poona regency was tottering, and the Nizam had been emboldened by their weakness to exact a considerable cession of territory. 1775. Treaty of Surat. Battle of Arras. 1775

These brilliant prospects were marred by the folly and perversity of Mr. Francis and his associates. They

pronounced the treaty impolitic, dangerous, and unjust, and above all unauthorised by the Supreme Council, which had been invested with the control of the minor Presidencies, and they sent peremptory orders to annul the treaty and recall the army from the field. Hastings equally disapproved of the treaty, but took a statesman's view of their position, and affirmed that as the Company's Government was actually involved in war, it should be prosecuted with vigour, and concluded as speedily as possible. At the same time the majority in Council deputed Colonel Upton to Poona to disavow the proceedings of the Bombay Government, and to open negotiations with the regency. It was in vain the Bombay authorities remonstrated on the imprudence of destroying their influence, and withdrawing the victorious troops from the field, and the disgrace of violating a solemn engagement.

A.D. 1775 Folly of the Supreme Council.

Colonel Upton, on his arrival at Poona, found the astute ministers determined to take advantage of these divided councils. They extolled to the skies "the wisdom of the great governor of Calcutta, who had "ordered peace to be concluded;" but when the Colonel proposed that Salsette and Bassein should be guaranteed to the Company, they assumed an arrogant tone, and demanded the immediate surrender of Raghoba, and the restoration of all the territory the Company had recently acquired. The insolent demands of the regency roused the indignation of Mr. Francis and his colleagues, and they determined to support Raghoba; the troops were again ordered to take the field, and a supply of treasure was despatched to Bombay. But the regency, after a little more bluster, came to terms with Colonel Upton, and the treaty of Poorundur was concluded, which stipulated that Raghoba should disband his army, and retire to the banks of the Godavery, that all the territorial acquisitions of the Company should be relinquished with the exception of Salsette, which "might be retained if the Governor-General desired it," and that twelve lacs of rupees should be paid for the expenses of the war "by way of favour." Considering that all the advantages of the late campaign had been on the side of the English, the Bombay President was justified in pronouncing the treaty "highly injurious to the interests and "reputation of the Company." It was a flagrant breach of faith with Raghoba; it shook the confidence of the native princes in the engagements of our Government, and it

1776 Col Upton at Poona.

1776 Treaty of Poorundur.

inflated the regency with an undue sense of its power, which led to future difficulties.

Four months after the signature of the treaty, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors approving of the treaty of Surat, directing that the territories ceded by Raghoba should be retained, and that the other Presidencies should assist in supporting him. The Bombay Council, smarting under the indignity which had been inflicted on them, gave the treaty of Poorundur to the winds, invited Raghoba to Bombay, and settled a monthly allowance on him. The Poona regency raved at this violation of the treaty, but their strength was weakened by discord between the aged premier Succaram Bapoo and his younger associate Nana Furnavese. To increase the complication of affairs at Poona, a French adventurer, of the name of St. Lubin, arrived there in March, and announced himself as the envoy of the king of France, then on the eve of a war with England. He was authorised, he said, to offer the regency the support of 2,500 Europeans, and equipments for 10,000 sepoys, as well as officers to discipline and command them. Nana Furnavese affected to believe in his mission, and made over to him the harbour of Choul, only twenty-three miles from Bombay, for the reception of the troops.

Decision of the Court of Directors. A.D. 1776

St. Lubin. 1777

Soon after another despatch was received from the Court, regretting the sacrifices made by the treaty of Poorundur, and stating that while the Directors were determined to adhere to it, if any attempt were made to evade any of its provisions, the Bombay Government should be at liberty to renew the alliance with Raghoba. The President found little difficulty in discovering infractions of a treaty which the Mahrattas never intended to respect, and prepared to espouse the cause of Raghoba. These movements were quickened by a revolution in the cabinet at Poona which placed the partisans of Raghoba in the ascendant, and an envoy was sent to Bombay to request the President to conduct him to the capital with a military force. Within a few months a counter-revolution placed Nana Furnavese in power, and extinguished the party of Raghoba, but the Bombay Council were determined not to abandon him. Their passions were enlisted in his cause, which they identified with their own honour; and, without adequate preparation, without alliances, without even a commander in whom they had any confidence, they determined to launch a handful of men against

Second despatch from Directors.

1778

the whole strength of the Mahratta empire. Nana Furnavese prepared to meet the coming storm, increased his army, provisioned his forts, and refitted his fleet.

A new treaty was now made with Raghoba, which differed little from that of Surat. An army of 4,000 men, of whom 600 were Europeans, was sent to capture the Mahratta capital, under Colonel Egerton, an officer utterly unfit for the charge. Encumbered with 19,000 bullocks, besides other cattle, the army moved at the rate of two miles a day, while the forces of the enemy were accumulating around it. Colonel Egerton resigned the command to Colonel Cockburn, but the responsibility of all movements lay with Colonel Carnac, who had been sent as civil commissioner with the force. On reaching Tullygaum, which had been burnt, a report was spread that the Mahrattas intended also to burn Chinchore, and even the capital itself. Colonel Carnac was seized with a panic, and though only eighteen miles from Poona, with eighteen days' provisions in the camp, determined, in the first instance, to open a negotiation with the regency, and then to retreat. Without waiting for the result of the negotiation, he threw his heavy guns into a pond, and commenced his retreat, hotly pursued by the enemy. On the evening of the 12th January the army encamped at Wurgaum. The Mahrattas brought up their guns during the night, and assailed the camp with great vigour in the morning. The bewildered Carnac declared that even a retreat was now impossible and made overtures to Nana Furnavese, who demanded the surrender of Raghoba before he would listen to terms. The commissioner would have complied with the demand had he not saved them from this infamy by delivering himself up to Sindia, and, under the auspices of that chief, the British army was rescued from destruction by a convention which sacrificed all the acquisitions obtained since 1773, and for the first time obliged the British Government to give hostages to a victorious enemy. The Court of Directors lost no time in dismissing Colonels Egerton, Cockburn, and Carnac from their service. Bombay was now at the mercy of the Mahrattas, and its preservation depended on the arrival of General Goddard's expedition from Hindostan.

A.D. 1778 Expedition to Poona.

1779 Convention of Wurgaum.

Hastings, who had recovered his ascendancy in Council, gave his sanction to the proposal of the Bombay Council to support Raghoba, and resolved likewise to send an expedition from Bengal across the continent, to frustrate the

intrigues of the French at Poona, and to strengthen the Bombay Presidency. The force consisted of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, and was destined to march from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay, through 1,000 miles of unknown country occupied by chiefs who were far more likely to be hostile than friendly. It was pronounced by Mr. Dundas, the India minister, one of "the frantic military exploits of Hastings," but it was through such frantic exploits that British power and prestige had been established in India by a handful of foreigners. It was conducted by General Goddard, one of the most illustrious names in the history of British India. So strict was the discipline which he maintained, so punctual his payments, and so conciliatory his intercourse with the chiefs and people on the route, that they cheerfully supplied him with all his requisitions. The raja of Bhopal particularly distinguished himself by his generous hospitality, though threatened with the vengeance of the Mahratta regency. On reaching Boorhanpore the general heard of the misfortunes of the Bombay force, and turned out of his route to Surat, by which he avoided an encounter with a body of 20,000 horse sent from Poona to intercept him.

A.D. 1778 — General Goddard's expedition.

The timely arrival of General Goddard on the western coast, and the *éclat* of this celebrated expedition, proved the salvation of the Bombay Presidency, and restored the reputation of the British arms. The convention of Wurgaum was equally repudiated by the Bombay Government and by Hastings, who directed General Goddard to open a fresh negotiation with the regency on the basis of the treaty of Poorundur. In the mean time Sindia connived at the escape of Raghoba, who repaired to Surat, where he was honourably entertained by General Goddard, and received an allowance of half a lac of rupees a month. The reception granted to him gave mortal offence to the regency, who determined to join the confederacy which had just been formed against the Company, and in reply to the General's categorical demand of a reply to his proposal, informed him that the surrender of Raghoba, and the restoration of Salsette, were the indispensable preliminaries of any treaty; he therefore dismissed their vakeels and prepared for war. At the same time he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Gaikwar, which provided that he should join the English camp with 3,000 horse, and receive possession of all the Peshwa's territories north of the Myhee, and make

1779 — General Goddard's continued success.

over certain districts south of it to the Company. On the
A.D. 10th February General Goddard captured the noble city of
1779 Ahmedabad, the modern capital of Guzerat, and, having dispersed an army of 20,000 horse with which Sindia and Holkar were advancing to attack him, encamped for the season on the banks of the Nerbudda.

The success which meanwhile attended our arms in the north-west of Hindostan was equally brilliant. Hastings
Capture of Gwalior. sent a force of 2,400 infantry, with cavalry and artillery, under the command of Major Popham, one of the most enterprising officers in the service, to protect the little principality of Gohud, sixty miles south-east of Agra, from the encroachments of Sindia. He marched in February, and after having captured Lahar,
1780 without a battering-train, by the sheer gallantry of his men, proceeded to the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, on the summit of a stupendous rock scarped almost entirely round, and deemed throughout India impregnable. Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran hero of the Carnatic, then General in chief in Bengal, pronounced the attempt to capture it an act of madness, but Popham had set his heart on the "glorious "object," as he called it, and lay about the fort for two months silently maturing his plans. On the night of the 3rd of August, under the guidance of Captain Bruce, twenty European soldiers and two companies of sepoys, led by four officers, applied their scaling ladders to the successive stages of rock and battlements; the bewildered garrison made a feeble resistance; and at daybreak, without the loss of a single man, the British ensign was waving over the ramparts. The report of this achievement resounded through India, and served to wipe out the disgrace of the "infamous convention" of Wurgaum, as Hastings always designated it, and which he said it was worth millions to obliterate. Major Camac, who succeeded Major Popham, brought up an additional force, and not only invaded Sindia's possessions in Malwa, but threatened his capital,
1781 Defeat of Sindia. and he was obliged to quit Poona to attend to the defence of his own dominions. Major Camac, who was no soldier, allowed himself to be surrounded by the more numerous army of Sindia. His camp was reduced to a state of starvation, and he would have been obliged to surrender had not Captain Bruce, who had distinguished himself at Gwalior, made a vigorous attack on Sindia's camp during the night. The surprise was complete, and he lost elephants, horses, baggage, and men, but, above all,

his reputation, while the crest of his rival, Holkar, was elevated by a successful attack on General Goddard.

Towards the close of 1779 Hastings received intimation of a general confederacy organised by the Nizam to extinguish the power of the Company, which embraced all the princes of India with the exception of the Gaikwar. A simultaneous attack was to be made on all the Presidencies. Hyder was to invade Madras; the attack of Bombay was assigned to Sindia, Holkar, and the regency; while the raja of Nagpore was to enter Bengal through his province of Cuttack. England was at the same time at war with the French, and they were intriguing at Poona. Never had the Company been menaced with such peril, and it required the extraordinary genius of Hastings to avert it. Hyder was the first in the field, and burst upon the Carnatic, as will be hereafter narrated. Bombay was left to its own resources, and the governor, Mr. Hornby, proved equal to the emergency. The gallant Colonel Hartley had cleared the Concan of the Mahrattas, but it was again invaded by Nana Furnavese, and he had to sustain for two days the assault of 20,000 Mahratta horse with only 2,000 exhausted troops, and 600 sick in his camp. On the third day the Mahratta general was killed, and the army became dispirited and retired. General Goddard ascended the ghauts with a large force, in the hope of capturing Poona, but he was incessantly assailed by the Mahrattas, and, being vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 troops, was obliged to retreat to Bombay with the loss of 450 of his troops—the only reverse he experienced in his victorious career.

Confederacy against the English. A.D. 1779

1781

The raja of Nagpore, in accordance with the compact, sent his son Chimnajee with 30,000 troops to Cuttack, but he was lukewarm in the cause of the allies, and loitered seven months on the road. On reaching the province he found himself straitened for funds, and he accepted the offer of sixteen lacs of rupees which Hastings made him on condition of his withdrawing from the confederacy. Hastings was thus enabled to buy off the most formidable member of the league, and to save Bengal from the horrors of predatory warfare. To relieve Madras from the pressure of Hyder's army, Hastings resolved to send a detachment of Bengal troops; but as the sepoys had recently broken into revolt, and murdered their officers, to avoid a sea voyage, he adopted the bold plan of sending them by land seven hundred miles along the coast,

Nagpore detached from the league. 1780

A.D. 1781 through unknown and probably hostile provinces. This was another of the "frantic military exploits of Hastings," but it effectually overawed the native chiefs and augmented our prestige. The raja of Nagpore, on the receipt of the money, agreed to send 2,000 horse to co-operate with this expedition, which Colonel Pearce conveyed to Madras in safety.

After his defeat by Major Camac, Sindia perceived that with a victorious enemy in the heart of his dominions he had everything to lose by continuing a conflict which might end in driving him across the Nerbudda and destroying his influence in the Mahratta commonwealth. He accordingly made overtures to the British commandant which Hastings was but too happy to accept. They resulted in a treaty, signed on the 13th October, by which all the territories of Sindia west of the Jumna were restored to him, and he agreed to negotiate a peace between the Company and the regency at Poona; and, at all events, to remain neuter. Hastings's anxiety for peace with the Mahrattas was quickened by the arrival of a French armament on the Coast, which he feared might result in the extirpation of our nation from the Carnatic. To bring the war with the Mahrattas to a close, he was ready to sacrifice every foot of ground which had been gained from them, not excepting even the harbour of Bassein.

Peace with Sindia.

1781

After a succession of disappointments the treaty of Salbye was at length completed on the 17th May through the mediation of Sindia, who undertook to guarantee the settlement, and thus acquired additional consequence among the Mahratta chiefs. All the territory acquired by the Company since the treaty of Poorundur was relinquished, and it was stipulated that Hyder Ali should be required to restore all his conquests in the Carnatic and to release his prisoners within three months, on pain of being treated as an enemy by the regency. Nana Furnavese, after having accepted the treaty, delayed the ratification of it for six months, while he endeavoured to make advantageous terms with Hyder for repudiating it. Hastings's impatience for the completion of this pacification was raised to fever heat by the receipt on the 5th December of a copy of the resolution of the House of Commons, to the effect that he had acted contrary to the honour and policy of the nation, and that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to remove him from the head of affairs. The promulgation of this vote throughout

Treaty of Salbye.

1782

India would not only have prevented the ratification of the treaty, but paralysed the authority of Government in every court; but on the 7th the death of Hyder dispersed the cloud of anxiety, and Nana Furnavese immediately affixed the Peshwa's seal to the treaty. The peace thus concluded with the Mahratta powers continued unbroken for twenty years. A.D. 1782

SECTION III.

PROCEEDINGS AT MADRAS, 1771—1780.

WE revert now to the progress of events at the Madras Presidency and in the south of India. The little Hindoo kingdom of Tanjore had been in a great measure exempt from the ravages of war during the hostilities with Hyder, which terminated in the peace dictated by him under the walls of Madras. Mahomed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic, now came forward and importuned the Madras Council to assist him in plundering the raja, as former nabobs had done. The demands of the nabob were exorbitant, but, after a little virtuous reluctance, the President sent an army into the country. The Tanjorines offered a spirited defence, but a breach was at length effected in the fortifications, when the nabob's second son, without consulting the English commander, who had been dragged into this unholy crusade, signed a treaty with the raja after having extorted an engagement to pay fifty lacs of rupees. In less than two years he again demanded the assistance of the Madras Council to exterminate the raja, on the plea that a fifth of the payment was still due, and that he had been in communication with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. The President was fully aware that to meet the extortion he had been under the necessity of pledging his crown jewels and even his principality—to the Dutch at Negapatam, instead of to the English at Madras—but was base enough to resolve on his ruin. An army was despatched in September; the raja was deposed and the principality made over to the unprincipled nabob. The Court of Directors, indignant at this infamous proceeding, expelled the President, Mr. Wynch, from the service and peremptorily ordered the country to be restored to the raja. Lord Pigot, who had been in the Madras civil service forty years and amassed a fortune of forty lacs of rupees, obtained an Irish

Proceedings at Tanjore. 1771

1773

Directors restore the raja. 1774

peerage on his return to England, and was now sent out as governor of Madras; and, though offered a bribe of sixty lacs of rupees by the nabob to prevent the execution of the Court's orders, proceeded in person to Tanjore and seated the raja on his ancestral throne.

The restoration was no sooner proclaimed than Paul Benfield, a Madras civilian, came forward and advanced a
A.D. 1774 Paul Benfield. claim on the revenues. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the total demoralisation of the Company's service at Madras at that period than the fact that this man, who came to India without a farthing, and whose salary had never exceeded three hundred rupees a month, should not consider it preposterous to assert that for money lent to the nabob he had assignments on the revenues of Tanjore of sixteen lacs, and for money lent to individuals he had assignments on the present crop of more than seven lacs. After long deliberation, the Council rejected his claim; but as they and other members of the civil service were creditors, real or fictitious, of the nabob to the extent of a crore and a half of rupees, they perceived that they were thereby impairing their own claims and the question was reconsidered. Lord Pigot and his friends strenuously resisted these nefarious proceedings, but a majority of seven to five voted that the assignments made to Benfield were valid. The breach in the council became wider. Lord Pigot
1776 Lord Pigot confined. suspended two of the members, and placed Sir Robert Fletcher, the Commander-in-Chief, under arrest, and the majority retaliated by placing the governor himself in confinement and seizing the Government. The Court of Directors ordered that he should be restored to his position and then resign the service. Seven of the members of Council were dismissed, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, who had been in the public service in Bengal, was placed at the head of the Government, but neither was his administration smooth, and it ended in his recall.

Basalut Jung, who held the Guntoor Sircar as a fief of his brother the Nizam, had taken a small French force into
1779 Guntoor Sircar. his service, but had acceded to the request of the Madras Government to receive a British detachment in its stead, and to make over the Sircar for its support. The treaty was no sooner signed than it was leased for ten years to the nabob Mahomed Ali, that is, to his creditors, and a key was thus furnished to the transaction. Mr. Holland was deputed to Hyderabad to explain it to the Nizam, who expressed no little resentment at this inde-

pendent negotiation with one of his feudatories, and this interference with the affairs of his family. But when Mr. Holland proceeded further to request, on the part of the Madras Government, that the sum of seven lacs which was paid as tribute for the Northern Sircars should be remitted, his indignation knew no bounds, and he charged the Madras authorities with a flagrant breach of faith. It was under the influence of this feeling of irritation that he set himself to organize the general league for the expulsion of the English previously alluded to. Hastings on hearing of these proceedings immediately superseded the authority of the Madras Government at the Nizam's Court, and assured him that the intentions of the British Government were honourable and pacific; that the Sircar should not be occupied, and that the annual tribute should be paid up as soon as possible. By these assurances Hastings was enabled to neutralize the Nizam in the contest for existence which was now impending. A.D. 1779

The second war with Hyder Ali commenced in 1780, but before entering on the narrative of it, a review of his previous progress for eight years appears necessary. It has been stated that the crushing defeat he experienced at Milgota reduced his possessions within a very narrow compass, but the confusion created at Poona by the murder of the Peshwa enabled him to recover his position. In November he subjugated the principality of Coorg, which offered a noble resistance and was subjected to extraordinary barbarity. He promised the sum of five rupees for each head, and distributed the reward in person, and seven hundred heads were piled up before he ordered the carnage to cease. The next year he reconquered the districts of which the Mahrattas had dispossessed him, and strengthened his authority in Malabar. Alarmed by these incessant encroachments, and by the support he afforded to Raghoba, the regency at Poona formed an alliance against him with the Nizam, and the combined armies took the field in 1776; but the generals were corrupted by the gold of Hyder, the expedition proved abortive, and his power was extended up to the banks of the Kistna. Notwithstanding the refusal of the Madras Government to afford him aid, in accordance with the treaty, under the sinister influence of Mahomed Ali and Sir John Lindsay, he renewed the application, to enable him to meet the continued hostility of the Mahrattas. He asked only for a supply of stores and arms, and a small body of troops, for which he was prepared to

Progress of Hyder Ali, 1775–1780.

1772

1771

1776

make a suitable return in money, but the Madras Council, who were still controlled by the nabob, resisted every overture and turned him into an irreconcilable enemy.

Information was soon after received of the commencement of war between France and England, and Pondicherry, which had been completely rebuilt, was captured after a gallant resistance of ten days. In announcing this success to Hyder, the governor of Madras intimated that it was his intention to send an expedition against the French settlement at Mahé, a small port on the Malabar coast, through which Hyder had been in the habit for three years of receiving supplies and recruits from Europe. He replied that he should support the French garrison with all his strength, and retaliate any attack by invading the Carnatic; the place was nevertheless attacked and taken, though his colours were hoisted side by side with those of his French allies. While Hyder's feelings were in this state of irritation, an envoy arrived from Poona to request that, as he had the same reason as the regency to complain of the perfidy of the English, he would join the general confederacy which had been formed to expel them from India. The regency promised an amicable adjustment of all differences, the relinquishment of the *chout*, and a confirmation of his right to all the territories he had acquired up to the Kistna. Their proposal was accepted with avidity.

A.D 1779 War with France. Capture of Mahé.

Preparations were now made on the largest scale. Hyder, in his seventy-eighth year, superintended every arrangement in person, and by the end of June had equipped the most efficient force ever collected under the banner of a native prince. It consisted of 90,000 horse and foot, a large proportion of which had been trained under European officers. His artillery consisted of a hundred guns, directed also by European skill and science, and his commissariat had been admirably organised by the Hindoo Poornea, one of the ablest of his officers. While this portentous cloud was advancing towards Madras, the Government was buried in a fatal security, and the Commander-in-Chief declared that there was not the slightest cause for apprehension, but this illusion was speedily dispelled. Hyder, having completed his preparations, and proclaimed a *jehad*, or holy crusade, in every mosque and temple in Mysore, burst on the Carnatic on the 20th of July, and his progress was marked by the blaze of villages and towns, and the desolation of the country. He

1780 Hyder bursts on the Carnatic.

appeared determined to exhaust all the resources of cruelty which his ferocious nature could suggest. The wretched inhabitants were driven with their flocks and families to Mysore, and those who lingered were mutilated. All the forts, except four, held by English lieutenants, were surrendered by the venal or dastardly officers of the nabob.

The Madras army did not exceed 8,000, of which number 2,500 were under Colonel Baillie in Guntoor, and it was not till clouds of smoke were seen in every direction from St. Thomas's Mount, nine miles from Madras, that orders were issued to take the field. March of Madras army. A.D. 1780

Sir Hector Munro moved out to Conjeveram to relieve Arcot, which contained the few military stores the nabob possessed, and which Hyder had besieged. Colonel Baillie was ordered to join Sir Hector with expedition, but he halted on the banks of the Cortilla when it was fordable, and the next day it was swelled by the rains, and continued impassable for ten days. Hyder Ali sent Tippoo with the flower of his army to prevent the junction, and an action was fought on the 6th September, in which Tippoo was so severely handled that he informed his father that no impression could be made on the English force without reinforcements, while Colonel Baillie informed the general that it was no longer in his power to join him at Conjeveram. Instead of proceeding at once with his whole force, Sir Hector simply detached Colonel Fletcher with 1,100 men to reinforce Colonel Baillie. So great was the dread which Hyder entertained of British prowess, that he had determined, in case of a junction of the two forces, to raise the siege of Arcot and retire. Colonel Fletcher and Colonel Baillie moved forward till the evening of the 9th, and a short march would have completed their union with the main body, but by an act of incredible fatuity Colonel Baillie ordered his men to lie on their arms for the night. Hyder Ali, seeing no preparation for any movement on the part of Sir Hector, brought his whole force up against Colonel Baillie. He planted his guns during the night with great skill, and on the morning of the 10th September the encampment was enveloped by the whole Mysore army. 1780

The troops fought like heroes, and the European force, when reduced to 300, still demanded to be led against the enemy; but Colonel Baillie refused to sacrifice the lives of these brave men, and held out a flag of truce, when Hyder's soldiers rushed on them and would have butchered the whole body but for the interference of Defeat of Baillie.

the French officers. Of eighty-six officers, seventy were killed or wounded, and the whole army, with all its stores, baggage, and equipments, was irretrievably lost. Had the Commander-in-Chief moved up when the cannonade was first heard, Hyder, attacked on both sides, must have suffered a severe defeat; but the dastardly Munro threw his heavy guns into the great tank or pond at Conjeveram, destroyed his stores, and retreated in haste and disorder to Madras, hotly pursued by the enemy.

A vessel was immediately despatched to Calcutta with information of the disaster. To the embarrassment of a war with the Mahrattas was now added that of a war with Hyder, which had opened with the greatest disgrace the English arms had as yet suffered in India; but never did the genius and resolution of Hastings appear more conspicuous than on this occasion. "All my "hopes," he wrote, "of aggrandizing the British name and "enlarging the interests of the Company have given instant "place to the more urgent call to support the existence of "both in the Carnatic; nor did I hesitate one minute to "abandon my own views for such an object." He suspended Whitehill, the officiating governor of Madras who had refused to restore the Guntoor Sircar; he despatched every soldier that could be spared, together with fifteen lacs of rupees, for the exclusive use of the army, not to be fingered by the civilians; and the whole expedition was equipped and embarked within three weeks. The veteran Sir Eyre Coote, who had extinguished the French power on the Coast twenty years before, consented to take the command, and retrieve the honour of the Company amidst the scenes of his early triumphs. Hastings also adopted the hazardous expedient of stopping the Company's investment and devoting the funds to the expedition; but even this resource was found insufficient, and he was obliged, for the first time in his administration, to have recourse to a loan.

Energy of Hastings.

Coote proceeds to Madras. A.D. 1780

SECTION IV.

PROCEEDINGS AT MADRAS, FROM THE DEFEAT OF COLONEL BAILLIE TO THE PEACE WITH TIPPOO, 1780–1784.

SIR EYRE COOTE arrived at Madras, eight weeks after the disaster of Colonel Baillie, but found the equipment of the army so wretched, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies in a country swept by hostile cavalry so great, that it was ten weeks before he could make any movement. But his arrival raised the drooping spirits of Madras, and checked the career of Hyder, who, instead of driving the English, as he had hoped, into the sea, found himself confronted by his old opponent. Hyder had obtained possession of Arcot through the treachery of the nabob's brahmin commandant, and was engaged in besieging Wandewash, which was defended by Lieutenant Flint with the same gallantry which had been displayed by Clive at Arcot. The hostile armies remained inactive for four months; the English for want of provisions, and Hyder from a dread of encountering them. Coote then attacked the fortified temple of Chillumbrum, but was repulsed, and Hyder was emboldened to risk a general engagement, and marching a hundred miles in two days and a half, attacked the English on the 1st of July at Porto Novo; but after an engagement of six hours' duration, was totally defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, while the casualties on the side of Coote did not exceed 300. The Bengal brigade was conducted along the coast by Colonel Pearce with admirable skill, and without a single accident, and he reached Pulicat in July. Hyder detached Tippoo to intercept it, and Coote marched 150 miles to form a junction with it, which he effected on the 2nd of August. Hyder had brought up the whole of his army to oppose his return, and taken up his position on the field where, exactly a twelvemonth before, Colonel Baillie's army had been exterminated, which the astrologers assured him was a lucky spot and a lucky day. The result of the battle was doubtful, and both parties claimed the victory by firing a salute. In the month of September there was a third engagement at Solingur, in which Hyder was completely defeated, with the loss of 5,000 men, while only 100 fell on the side of the English.

A.D. 1781

Difficulties of Coote.

Battle of Porto Novo.

1781

Of Pollilore.

Of Solingur.

Soon after the army retired into cantonments for the season at Madras, after a campaign in which all Hyder's plans were baffled by the superior strategy of Coote, and Coote's movements were crippled for want of supplies and equipments.

In the brief period of seven years, two governors of Madras had been dismissed by the Court of Directors; one had been suspended by Hastings, and a fourth deposed by his own Council. The Presidency was demoralized to the core by corrupt transactions with the nabob, and the Court of Directors resolved to place the government in the hands of one who was free from all local associations, and untainted by the general corruption. Their choice

A.D. 1781 Lord Macartney governor of Madras.

fell on Lord Macartney, an Irish peer of great political experience and dignified character. He reached Madras in June, with the first intelligence of the war between Holland and England. Hyder lost no time in forming an alliance with the Dutch on the basis of mutual co-operation against the English. Their principal settlement on the Coromandel coast was Negapatam, 160 miles south of Madras, garrisoned by an army of 6,500 men. Contrary to the advice of Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Macartney equipped an expedition from Tanjore and Madras, which was confided to Sir Hector Munro, and

1781 Capture of Negapatam.

greatly strengthened by the marines and seamen. The settlement was captured in November, and found to contain a large quantity of military stores besides two valuable investments. Two months after, Trincomalee, the noblest harbour in Ceylon, was also captured from the Dutch. But, notwithstanding the successes of the year, the pressure of the war was severely felt on the finances of Madras. All the revenues of the Carnatic, which ought to have been available for its defence, were absorbed by the nabob and his rapacious creditors, and the Government was at length constrained to assume the entire control of the province, reserving one-sixth for the nabob.

Colonel Braithwaite had been despatched to protect Tanjore from the ravages of Tippoo, with a detachment of 2,000

1782 Colonel Braithwaite.

men, almost all sepoys. The treachery of his guides betrayed him into a position where he came unexpectedly on Tippoo's army of 20,000 horse and 20,000 infantry and twenty guns; for twenty-eight hours his force maintained the unequal contest without flinching, but was at length overpowered. "The annals of war,"

says the historian Mill, "can seldom exhibit a parallel to "the firmness and perseverance of this little army." This disaster was counterbalanced on the opposite coast by a sortie under Major Abingdon from Tellicherry, where he had been besieged for eighteen months, and the capture of 1,200 prisoners with sixty pieces of cannon. Hyder's despondency. A.D. 1782
Hyder began now to give way to despondency; his French allies had not made their appearance: Hastings had succeeded in detaching Sindia, the Nizam, and the raja of Nagpore from the grand confederacy, and the Peshwa now threatened to combine with the English, and wrest from him all the territories he had gained between the Kistna and the Toombudra. He lamented to his minister his folly in having plunged into a war with the Company. "The defeat of many Braithwaites and many "Baillies," he said, "will not crush them. I may ruin "their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea, and "I must be exhausted by a war in which I gain nothing "by fighting." The western coast he considered the weakest part of his dominions, and he determined to concentrate his efforts in that direction. He had issued orders to blow up the fortifications of Arcot, and to lay waste the Carnatic, without leaving a vestige of human habitation, when these gloomy forebodings were dissipated by the arrival of the French armament.

The French fleet was commanded by Suffrein, one of the greatest admirals France has produced. He met Admiral Hughes returning from the capture of Trincomalee, and an engagement ensued which proved indecisive. Naval actions. 1782
Suffrein then proceeded to Porto Novo, and landed 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 disciplined Africans. In June, Sir Eyre Coote attempted the capture of Arnee, Hyder's chief depôt in the south, but after an indecisive action under its walls, Hyder succeeded in rescuing his treasure and his stores. Two other actions were in the meantime fought between the fleets without any practical result, and Suffrein having refitted his ships, sailed to the south. Lord Macartney had received intelligence that a second French force had arrived at Galle, and he began to tremble for Trincomalee and Negapatam. He entreated Admiral Hughes to hasten to the defence of Trincomalee; but he was jealous of interference, and sluggish in his movements, and on entering the harbour found that the place had capitulated four days before. The fleets now came again in contact, but the result was again indecisive.

A.D. 1782 This was the fourth naval action of the year, which was distinguished as much by the activity of the fleets as by the inefficient operations of the army.

Admiral Hughes on his return to Madras announced his intention of proceeding to Bombay to refit his vessels after four severe actions. The governor represented the desperate condition to which the affairs of the Company would be reduced on his departure, with Hyder master of the Carnatic, Bussy daily expected with large reinforcements, and the French masters of the sea and intercepting the supplies of grain on which Madras depended for its subsistence. But he was deaf to every remonstrance, and set sail on the 15th of October. That same night the monsoon set in with a terrific gale; the shore was strewed for miles with wrecks; the largest vessels went down at their anchors, and a hundred coasting craft laden with rice were irrecoverably lost. Four days after Admiral Bickerton arrived in the roads from England, with a considerable fleet; and having landed 4,000 troops, resisted all the importunity of the Government to remain for the protection of the coast, and insisted on putting to sea to join his commander. Madras was now subject to all the horrors of famine. The ravages of Hyder had driven the wretched inhabitants into the town for shelter and subsistence, and for some time the deaths amounted to 1,500 a week. Sir Eyre Coote's shattered constitution required him to retire to Bengal, and the monsoon suspended all military operations.

Admiral Hughes goes to Bombay.

1782

Soon after the defeat of the Mysore army at Tellicherry in February, Colonel Humberstone, who succeeded to the command, marched into the heart of Mysore, and sat down before Palghaut, one of the strongest fortresses Hyder possessed, but the Bombay Council ordered him peremptorily to retire. Hyder lost no time in sending Tippoo with a contingent of French troops to repel this invasion, which might have penetrated to his capital. He came up with the retiring force at Paniani, and assaulted it in four columns, but was driven back with great loss, when he determined to turn the attack into a blockade, while waiting for his heavy guns. But on the 12th of December the whole of his army was seen to strike its tents, and march off to the eastern coast. A dromedary express had arrived the preceding evening with despatches announcing that "the ever-victorious spirit of Hyder," to use the language of his native biographer, "had taken its flight to Paradise." Worn out by the fatigues of war, and suffering from a

1782 Death of Hyder.

cancer in his back, he sunk on the 7th of December, at the age of eighty, leaving behind him the reputation of one of the ablest, most enterprising, and most successful princes in the modern history of India. A.D. 1782

An Asiatic army deprived of its head always becomes a scene of confusion and intrigue. On this occasion the danger was increased by the absence of Hyder's successor, four hundred miles away; but it was averted by the consummate prudence of Poornea, the ablest of his ministers. The death of Hyder was carefully concealed; his body was embalmed and sent to Seringapatam, like a chest of valuable plunder. All orders continued to be issued in his name, and his closed palankeen with the usual retinue moved out at the usual hour from the canvas enclosure of his tent. Tippoo, on his arrival in the camp, gratified the troops by a liberal donation, and entered upon the possession of a kingdom with a treasure of three crores of rupees and jewels of countless value, and an army of 100,000 men in a high state of efficiency. But the fatality which had blighted the Madras Presidency for fifteen years still seemed to pursue it. The departure of Sir Eyre Coote placed the army under the command of General Stuart, who was perverse, insubordinate, and incapable. Lord Macartney urged him to take advantage of the consternation in Hyder's camp when his death was known, but he affected to disbelieve the report, and the golden opportunity of striking a decisive blow was lost. With a nobler army and a more ample commissariat than Sir Eyre Coote had ever possessed, he allowed sixty days to pass without any effort. The anxiety which this inactivity created was happily relieved by the sudden departure of Tippoo for the opposite coast. The alarming intelligence he received of the progress made by the British force there induced him, without waiting for the arrival of Bussy, then hourly expected, to break up his encampment and proceed in person to avert the danger.

Concealment of his death.

Obstinacy of General Stuart. 1783

Bussy landed at Cuddalore on the 10th April, and found himself at the head of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys; but he found also to his mortification that Tippoo had left only 3,500 troops to co-operate with him. General Stuart, having no longer any excuse for delay, began his march towards Cuddalore with a fine park of artillery, and an army of 14,500 men, of whom 3,000 were Europeans. Nothing was wanting to the efficiency of this army—the largest ever yet assembled at

Bussy and Stuart at Cuddalore.

the Madras Presidency—but a commander; and the troops were looking with intense eagerness for their beloved old chief to lead them again to victory; but Sir Eyre Coote, who had been persuaded by Hastings to return to Madras, died three days after he had landed. The expedition now moved on to Cuddalore at the rate of three miles a day, and the town was invested on the 7th June. On the 13th
A.D. 1783 Bussy made a sally, which resulted in a general action, and he was defeated, with the loss of thirteen guns; but the victory was dearly purchased with the loss on the side of the English of 68 officers and 920 European soldiers. On the same day Suffrein made his appearance in the offing, and the two fleets came to an engagement, which was as indecisive as the former which had preceded it. Admiral Hughes proceeded to Madras to refit, and Suffrein reinforced Bussy with 2,400 marines and soldiers. On the 25th June, Bussy made a sortie, and was repulsed with heavy loss. But General Stuart, who had been peddling about Cuddalore for three weeks, had made no progress in the siege, while his force was daily wasting away from sickness, fatigue, and wounds; and Bussy was waiting for the maturity of his errors to strike a decisive blow, which would have resulted, there can be little doubt, in the disgrace and retreat of the English army, and possibly also in the investment and capture of Madras. From this danger the Company was happily saved by the arrival of
1783 intelligence that peace had been concluded between France and England. Hostilities at once ceased, and Tippoo was deprived of all the aid of the French troops. General Stuart on his arrival at Madras was placed under arrest by Lord Macartney and sent to England. It was he who had arrested Lord Pigot with great treachery; and the facetious remark of the nabob's second son on this occasion is not unworthy of record:—"General Stuart catch one lord, and "one lord catch General Stuart!"

The abrupt departure of Tippoo to the Western coast was occasioned by the success of an expedition sent by the Bombay Government against his possessions in that quarter. On hearing of the death of Hyder, General Matthews was despatched, contrary to his own better judgment, to seize Bednore on the table-land of Mysore. The ascent of the ghauts, which had been fortified at every point, presented the most formidable obstacles, but they were surmounted by the gallantry of the 42nd Highlanders. When, however, the army arrived

Expedition from Bombay.

in front of the fortress, it was unexpectedly and unconditionally surrendered. The Mysore commander, who was a favourite with Hyder, but hated by his son, had obtained the sight of a letter from him to one of the officers at Bednore, containing an order to deprive him of his command, and, if necessary, to put him to death; and he made over the fortress to the general. After obtaining possession of it, he relaxed his vigilance, and allowed his men to disperse over the country in search of plunder. Tippoo hastened to recover it, and it was surrendered only when it had become a heap of ruins. Tippoo then descended to the siege of Mangalore, which forms one of the most memorable events of the war. The garrison, commanded by the valorous Colonel Campbell of the 42nd Highlanders, consisted of 700 Europeans and about 2,000 native sepoys, while the investing force numbered 100,000 men with 100 guns. The privations sustained by the garrison have seldom been exceeded. The place was defended for nine months with unsurpassed fortitude, and did not capitulate till the defenders were reduced to 850 mere skeletons. A.D. 1783 Fall of Mangalore.

While Tippoo was wasting his strength and his reputation on this siege, which cost him half his army, the Madras Government sent a force of 13,500 men across the Peninsula into the heart of the Mysore territory, under the command of another of the Company's great soldiers, Colonel Fullarton, who would in all probability have brought the war to a speedy and successful issue, if he had not been thwarted by the folly of the Madras authorities. After having captured the renowned fort of Palghaut and the important city of Coimbatoor, he was on the point of marching on the capital, while the Mysore army was employed at Mangalore, when he received orders to suspend all operations, and to restore the districts he had occupied. Lord Macartney, contrary to the express orders of Hastings, had opened negotiations with Tippoo, at the very time when the Peshwa, in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of Salbye, was threatening him with hostilities if he did not come to an accommodation with the English. The governor of Madras had even offered of his own accord a suspension of arms till the reply was received, and the progress of Colonel Fullarton was accordingly arrested. Lord Macartney was so ignorant of the native character as not to be aware Colonel Fullarton's success. 1783

that a proposal of negotiation is more likely to render it abortive than successful.

Folly of the Madras Government.

Tippoo treated the proposal with silent contempt for three months, and then sent one of his most astute officers to cozen the Madras authorities, and they were actually persuaded to despatch two commissioners to his camp at Mangalore. Tippoo was thus enabled to represent in every durbar that the British Government had sent two officers of rank from Madras to sue for peace. Disputes arose between the envoy of Tippoo and the commissioners which were referred to Madras; and the Council, after reviewing their position, ordered Colonel Fullarton to relinquish all his conquests and retire, instead of directing him to push on to Seringapatam with his victorious army, and bring the war to a successful issue. Hastings, with his profound knowledge of the native character, reprobated the negotiation through these commissioners, and maintained that it ought to have been committed to Colonel Fullarton, and dictated under the walls of the capital; but he was now powerless. The Court of Directors had recently renewed the condemnation of his proceedings, and the members of his Council had consequently deserted him; the conduct of the negotiations was therefore left to the Madras authorities, who fully maintained on this occasion their traditionary characteristic of imbecility.

Treatment of the commissioners.

The commissioners were marched leisurely through the country, detained at every stage, and subjected to constant indignity. On the fall of Mangalore they were admitted into the Mysore camp and insulted by the erection of gibbets in front of their tents. The treaty, based on a mutual restitution of conquests, was at length signed. All that could be said of it was that it was not more disgraceful than those which the governor and Council of Madras had been invariably making for fifteen years. It was equally injurious to the reputation of the Company and inimical to the interests of peace, and it entailed the necessity of another conflict to correct the arrogance with which it inspired Tippoo, and to which he gave expression in the following announcement:—"The English commissioners stood with "their heads uncovered and the treaty in their hands for "two hours, using every form of flattery and supplication "to induce compliance. The vakeels of Poona and Hyder-"abad united in the most abject entreaties, and his majesty, "the shadow of God, was at length softened into assent."

A.D. 1784 Treaty of Mangalore.

SECTION V.

THE SUPREME COURT—CHEYT SING—THE BEGUMS—CLOSE OF HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION—PROCEEDINGS IN ENGLAND.

To RESUME the thread of events in Bengal. The Supreme Court, established in Calcutta in 1774, was intended to protect the natives from the oppression of Europeans, and to give the Europeans the blessing of their own laws. The judges were commissioned to administer every branch of English law, and were invested with all the prerogatives of the King's Bench. Parliament had thus, in its wisdom or ignorance, established two independent powers in this new conquest, without deeming it necessary to define the limits of their respective authority, and a collision between them became inevitable. The first stroke fell upon the zemindars. They had been accustomed to use coercion in the collection of their rents from the ryots, who had seldom paid them without it. The Supreme Court was no sooner established than it began to issue writs against them at the suit of any ryot who was persuaded to sue them under the instigation of the attorneys who spread themselves over the country. They were dragged down to the Court in Calcutta, and sent to gaol if they were unwilling or unable to furnish bail. Even when the arrest was pronounced to have been illegal, they received no compensation for the expense and indignity to which they had been subject.

A.D. 1774

The Supreme Court.

Its encroachments

A feeling of dismay spread over the country, such as had not been felt for thirty years, since the invasion of the Mahrattas. The arrest and humiliation of the zemindars destroyed their credit and authority, and enabled the ryots to evade the payment of their rent with impunity. If the defaulters were subjected to confinement, the attorneys advised them to apply to the court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, when they were brought down to Calcutta and discharged. The zemindars pleaded these proceedings as an excuse for withholding payment of their dues to government, and its resources, which were then dependent solely on the land revenue, were placed in extreme peril.

In revenue matters,

The criminal judicature of the country, which embraced

A.D. 1775 In criminal judicature.

the police of thirty millions of people, had been entrusted to the nabob of Moorshedabad and to his judicial and executive officers; but the judges of the Supreme Court declared that he was a phantom, a mere man of straw, without any right to the exercise of any authority whatever, and in one instance they issued a process of contempt against his Highness. They affirmed that the orders of the Provincial Courts established by Government, were of no more value than if they had been issued by the king of the fairies. They denied that the East India Company itself had any authority in India, beyond that of an ordinary commercial association, and affirmed that the Governor-General in Council was subject to their jurisdiction, and that it would be penal for him or any public officer to disobey any process they might issue. The judges doubtless acted conscientiously, but the whole fabric of Government was, nevertheless, shaken to its foundation, and the country was threatened with universal anarchy.

1779 The Cossijurah case.

The aggression of the Court reached its climax in the Cossijurah case. A native brought an action against the raja, living at a distance from Calcutta, and not subject to the Court, and two sheriff's officers were sent with a body of eighty men armed with muskets and swords to execute the writ of the Court, and bring him up to Calcutta. They invaded his zenana and packed up his idols, but he escaped their vigilance. Hastings considered that it was time to vindicate the authority of Government, and afford protection to its subjects; and ordered the party to be intercepted on their return, and liberated on their arrival in Calcutta. To prevent the recurrence of such visitations, he issued a proclamation to landholders of every degree to consider themselves exempt from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court unless they had especially bound themselves to submit to it. The Court then issued a process against the Governor-General and the Council, which they treated with the contempt it deserved.

Petitions were addressed to Parliament both by the native and the European community, praying for redress, but three years elapsed before it was granted. In the meantime Hastings provided a more immediate remedy by offering the post of chief judge in the Sudder Court, the Company's court of final appeal, to the Chief Justice, upon a salary of 7,000 rupees a month. He accepted the office, but declined any remuneration. All

1780 Appointment of Sir E. Impey.

the encroachments of the Crown Court ceased at once. The appointment was severely censured in Leadenhall Street and in Parliament, and Sir Elijah Impey was recalled and impeached, but honourably acquitted. The arrangement proved to be in a high degree beneficial to the interests of the country. Hastings had recently remodelled the judicial system, and though he placed over the civil courts the best men the service could furnish, they were necessarily without any judicial experience; and the Chief Justice, a lawyer of great eminence, was thus enabled to give form and consistency to their proceedings. With this object he drew up a code of regulations, clear and concise, and adapted to the simplicity of native habits, and it has formed the basis of subsequent legislation.

The pecuniary difficulties of this period were greater than had been felt for seven years. There was war with Hyder Ali then ravaging the Carnatic, war with the Mahrattas, and war with the French and with the Dutch. The entire expense of all military operations fell on the treasury of Bengal—the only Presidency which paid. Heavy loans had been contracted; the credit of Government was low, and Hastings was obliged to cast about him for some exceptional source of relief. By the political constitution of India, a feudatory was always liable to a demand for extraordinary aid to meet the exigencies of his superior lord. The grandfather of Cheyt Sing, the raja of Benares, had, in the confusion of the times, succeeded in carving out a little principality for himself, which he held of the Vizier of Oude, and which Mr. Francis had constrained the Vizier to transfer to the Company, giving the raja a *sunnud*, or deed, which fixed his annual payment at twenty-two lacs of rupees. Hastings now made a demand on Cheyt Sing of five lacs of rupees and a body of 2,000 horse to assist in protecting Behar. The requisition was strictly constitutional, and the raja paid it for some time, but at length endeavoured to evade farther payment on the plea of poverty. Hastings was assured that he had amassed a crore and a half, which was to a great extent true, and he construed his reluctance into a crime, and determined, as he said, "to make "him pay largely for his pardon, to exact a severe vengeance "for his delinquency, and to draw from his guilt the "means of relief to the Company's distresses." Hastings had occasion to visit Benares, and the raja, anxious to avert his displeasure, met him on the way, and offered

Cheyt Sing.

Hastings's requisition.

A.D. 1780

A.D. 1781 him twenty lacs, but he raised his demand to fifty lacs. On reaching the city, Hastings transmitted him a statement of his offences, and placed him under arrest by sending the two companies of sepoys he had brought with him to mount guard on his palace. The populace rose on them, and, as they had brought no ammunition, massacred them all, as well as their officers.

During this *émeute* the raja escaped across the river, but the situation of the Governor-General was perilous in the extreme. His native force was annihilated. He was in a city renowned for its turbulence, and in the midst of an infuriated mob; and he and the thirty gentlemen with him had only their own swords to trust to. Happily, the multitude, instead of attacking Hastings in his defenceless state, hastened across the river to join the raja. The whole province was soon in a state of revolt, but Hastings never lost his self-possession; and it was at this critical period that he continued and completed the negotiations with Sindia which issued in the treaty of Salbye, with as much calmness as if he had been residing in his own garden-house in Calcutta. Equally remarkable was the confidence manifested by Sindia in the destinies of the Company, by affixing his seal to it under such circumstances. Troops arrived rapidly from various quarters; but Hastings, not considering his position tenable, made his escape by night through a window, and rowed down to Chunar.

Escape of the raja.

The raja collected an army of 20,000 men, but it was repeatedly defeated, and his last fortress, Bidgegurh, in which his treasure was deposited, was surrendered by his begums. Major Popham, the commander, took advantage of an incautious expression in one of Hastings's letters, and divided the whole of the prize money, forty lacs of rupees, at once, among the officers and men, to the infinite annoyance of Hastings, who had been calculating on the receipt of it to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments. This is one of those transactions in the career of Hastings for which it would be difficult to offer any palliation. Cheyt Sing was contumacious in having hesitated to afford the necessary aid to his suzerain in a great public emergency; but the imposition of a fine of fifty lacs for demurring to the payment of a tenth of that sum was a vindictive proceeding, and has always been considered a blot on his administration.

The raja subdued.

1781

The loss of the raja's treasure was a source of deep

anxiety to Hastings. There were 60,000 troops in the field, and the treasury was empty. The arrears which were due from the Vizier, however, amounted to a crore and a half of rupees, and Hastings looked to this source for relief, when the Vizier waited on him at Chunar, and informed him that his own funds were exhausted, and that it was no longer possible for him to maintain the English troops employed in protecting his territories. He then alluded to the treasures of the begums, and requested permission of the Governor-General to take possession of them and thus discharge his obligations to the Company. At the same time it was asserted, but on the worthless testimony of Colonel Hannay, that the begums had abetted the rebellion, as it was officially termed, of Cheyt Sing, and supplied him with troops and money. Hastings, under the severe pressure of circumstances, persuaded himself that "the begums had made war on the Company," and he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Vizier, and authorised the spoliation of the princesses. Seventy-five lacs of rupees were extracted from their vaults, and transmitted to Calcutta, but not before the two eunuchs, their ministers, had been subject to torture. For this act of atrocity, Hastings is no farther responsible than as it might be considered the result of his own injustice. To this treasure the begums had no legitimate title; it was the property of the state and answerable for its obligations, but six years before, their right to it had been acknowledged under the seal of the Government in Calcutta, which ought to have been considered sacred. Hastings was so little conscious of the turpitude of this transaction that he ridiculed the censure which "men of virtue" might cast on it. But posterity has vindicated the principles of public morality, and although Hastings had no personal interest in the transaction, but was led into it by a mistaken loyalty to the interests of the Company, it has been the subject of general censure.

Plunder of the Begums.

A.D. 1782

These proceedings were severely condemned by the Court of Directors, and the members of his Council thereupon united in opposition to him, and he justly complained that while he was held personally responsible for the safety of India, his degradation had been proclaimed in every native court, and in the Council he had only a single vote. In a letter of the 20th March to the Directors, after alluding to the patience and temper with which he had submitted to the indignities heaped

1783

Close of Hastings' administration.

A.D. on him during his long service, he announced his determina-
1784 tion to retire from the Government. He proceeded to Lucknow, and in compliance with the injunctions of the Court of Directors restored the jageers which had been sequestered to the begums, adjusted all accounts with the Vizier, and then withdrew the Resident. On his return to Calcutta he addressed valedictory letters to the princes and chiefs of India, by all of whom he was held in the highest esteem,
1785 and embarked for England in February.

From the king and queen Hastings met with a gracious reception, and even the Court of Directors greeted him with a courteous address. With one exception, the ministry likewise evinced a very friendly disposition towards him, and Mr. Dundas, who had moved the vote of censure upon him in the House of Commons, in terms exceptionally virulent, now pronounced him the "Saviour of India." But Mr. Pitt, the prime minister, was strongly biassed against him, and while applauding his genius and his success refused to advise the king to confer any mark of distinction upon him. Burke, who had made Indian politics his especial study for many years, had contracted a feeling akin to personal animosity towards him, and aided by the local knowledge and the unmatched rancour of Mr. Francis, who had obtained a seat in Parliament, denounced his conduct in the House of
1786 Commons. The House was induced to vote his impeachment at the bar of the House of Lords on twenty-two charges. Of these only three were of any serious import; the Rohilla war, the treatment of Cheyt Sing, and the spoliation of the begums; the rest were the mere litter of Mr. Francis's malignity. The trial commenced on
1788 the 13th February, 1788, and presented the most august spectacle which had been witnessed in England since the trial of the bishops, a century before. The queen, the princesses, the Prince of Wales and his royal brothers, and the peers in their ermine proceeded in state to Westminster Hall to witness the opening of the proceedings. But the most memorable scene in this great drama was the galaxy of genius in the seats appropriated to the managers of the House, Fox and Burke, and Sheridan and Grey, and Windham, names of imperishable renown in the annals of the country. In the presence of this illustrious assembly Warren Hastings, who had given law to the princes and people throughout the continent of India, was arraigned as a culprit. The management of the trial was left with

Impeachment of Hastings.

the Whigs, who conducted it with ability which has never been surpassed, and in a spirit of animosity which has seldom been equalled. They applied to him the epithets of thief, tyrant, robber, cheat, swindler, sharper, captain general of iniquity and spider of hell; and then expressed their regret that the English language did not afford terms more adequate to the enormity of his offences. The trial dragged on for seven years, and ended in his complete and honourable acquittal, but it cost him ten lacs of rupees, A.D. and reduced him to poverty. 1795

The most severe censor of his administration, the philosophic historian Mill, admits that "he was beyond all "question the most eminent of the chief rulers "whom the Company ever employed, nor is "there any one of them who would not have succumbed under the difficulties he had to encounter." Censurable as some of his acts undoubtedly were, the grandeur of his career is by many considered as casting his offences into the shade, and one of the most eminent statesman of the day asserted that "though he was not blameless, if "there was a bald place on his head, it ought to be covered "with laurel." While the king and his ministers were losing an empire in the west, he was building up another in the east. The authority of the Company was limited to the valley of the Ganges when he assumed the government. He was anxious to avoid territorial acquisitions—and, indeed, he made none—but it was the object of his ambition to extend the influence of the Company to every court in India, and to render it the paramount power on the continent; and this object he fully accomplished, in the midst of unexampled difficulties. At the time of his retirement the Company was recognised as the most substantial and important power in India, whose favour was courted and whose hostility was dreaded equally by Tippoo, the Nizam, and the five Mahratta princes. No British ruler, moreover, has ever secured to an equal extent, not merely the homage but the warm attachment of the people under his government, by whom, after the lapse of a century, the name of "Hustin Sahib" is still pronounced with a feeling of veneration.

Character of Hastings.

In February 1781, the petitions of the inhabitants of Calcutta against the encroachments of the Supreme Court were presented to the House and referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Burke was the life and soul, and which presented

Reports of Committees. 1781

twelve able reports. On the receipt of intelligence of
A.D. Hyder Ali's irruption into the Carnatic, a secret com-
1782 mittee was appointed, of which Mr. Dundas was chairman. On the presentation of the report, he denounced the conduct of Hastings and the governors of Madras and Bombay, and moved the recall of Hastings from Bengal, and Hornby from Bombay, for having acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of the nation, and brought calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the Company. The House voted the recall of Hastings, and the Court of Directors responded to it; but the Court of Proprietors, which, at this time, comprised men of higher standing and of greater eminence than the superior Court, passed a vote of thanks to Hastings for his eminent services. The pecuniary embarrassment occasioned by the expensive wars waged in India constrained the Company to apply to Parliament for the loan of a crore of rupees, which was not refused, but it weakened still farther their position, which had been seriously damaged by the unfavourable reports of the two committees, and there was a general outcry for remodelling the Government of India.

Mr. Fox, then at the head of the coalition ministry, accordingly introduced his famous India bill, which had
1783 Fox's India Bill. been drafted by his colleague Mr. Burke. It provided that all the powers of Government should be transferred for four years from the Company to a Board consisting of seven Commissioners, to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament, and subsequently by the Crown, while the trade was to be managed by nine assistant Directors. The patronage of the India House was at the time estimated at two crores of rupees a year, and it was maintained that the transfer of it to the ministry would be fatal to the constitution. The Court of Directors, threatened with extinction, filled the town with complaints of the violation of chartered rights, and inflamed the public mind by a caricature representing Mr. Fox as Carlo Khan, mounted on an elephant and assailing the India House; but the bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of two to one. The king had been persuaded that it would take the crown from his head and place it on the brows of Mr. Fox, and by the exercise of an unconstitutional influence, he induced the House of Lords to throw it out, and he lost no time in dismissing the ministry.

Mr. Pitt, then in his twenty-fourth year, was placed at

the head of the new administration, and brought in another India bill, which provided for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners by the Crown, with power "to check, superintend, and control all the "acts, operations and concerns," connected with the civil and military government and revenues of India. A secret committee, consisting of the chairman, deputy chairman, and the senior member of the Court of Directors was to act in subordination to the Commissioners, and control all correspondence of any importance; and twenty-one of the Directors were thus excluded from all influence in the administration of India. Mr. Fox's bill annihilated the Company, but, under Mr. Pitt's bill they retained their golden patronage and their social position and the trappings of dignity, but the substantial power of Government was transferred to the Crown. The Proprietors, who had recently set the House of Commons at defiance in the matter of Hastings' recall, were restricted from interfering with any of the decisions of the Board of Commissioners, usually denominated the Board of Control, and, though they retained the empty privilege of debate, were reduced to a state of political insignificance. It was, moreover, resolved that "to pursue schemes of conquest and acqui- "sition of territory was contrary to the wish, the honour, "and the policy of the British nation;" but this renewed attempt to stop the growth of the British empire in India only afforded another exemplification of the vanity of human wishes.

A.D. 1784

Pitt's India Bill.

Mr. Dundas was appointed President of the Board of Control, and one of the first questions which came before him related to the debts of the nabob of Arcot. For many years he had been living on loans obtained at an exorbitant premium and usurious interest, for which he gave assignments on the districts of the Carnatic. When his court was removed from Arcot to Madras, the town became the focus of intrigue and fraud. All classes, both in and out of the service, not excepting the members of Council, embarked in the traffic of loans, which became the shortest road to fortune. Everyone was eager to obtain access to the pagoda-tree, as it was called, then in full bloom. Hastings, on taking over the revenues of the Carnatic to support the war with Hyder, was anxious to deal summarily with this incubus on its resources, and proposed to deduct a fourth from the principal, to consolidate it with the interest to a fixed date,

1785

The Nabob of Arcot's debts.

and pay off the amount by instalments. But the creditors would not listen to any proposal to cut the tree down.

Mr. Pitt's India bill made provision for the investigation of these claims preparatory to their liquidation, and the Court of Directors entered on the duty with great alacrity, but Mr. Dundas removed the case out of their hands, and determined to pay off the debts without enquiry. The princes of India had already discovered that the most effectual mode of counteracting the Government of India, both in England and abroad, was to subsidize members of Parliament. The nabob of Arcot adopted this expedient on a magnificent scale. Paul Benfield was sent to London with large funds, established an office in Westminster for the purchase of boroughs, and in the general election of 1783, made no fewer than eight members of Parliament, whose votes were placed at the disposal of the ministry. It was to this Parliamentary influence that the anomalous proceedings of Mr. Dundas were generally attributed, by which Paul Benfield secured the undisturbed enjoyment of a sum little short of sixty lacs of rupees. The heaviest class of the loans was fixed, with interest, at two crores and a quarter, but it cost the Company five crores before it was paid off.

Mr. Dundas's extraordinary proceedings.

A.D. 1784

Mr. Fox's Indian Bill made it penal for any servant of the Company, civil or military, to engage in money transactions with any native prince, but no such clause was inserted in Mr. Pitt's bill, and the nabob and his friends embarked in the fabrication of fresh loans while the liquidation of the old loans was in progress, and on the payment of the last pagoda brought forward new demands, to the incredible amount of thirty crores of rupees. Parliament was now resolved that they should be subject to a severe scrutiny, and a board of Commissioners was appointed at Madras to investigate them, and another board in London to receive appeals. Their labours extended over fifty years, and cost India a crore of rupees, but they reduced the claims from thirty-two crores of rupees to about two and a half. Mr. Dundas's proceedings regarding the revenues of the Carnatic were equally disastrous. The nabob had received a larger income from them while they were under the management of the Company than when administered by his own officers, but those officers and his creditors lost the opportunity of plunder, and induced him to become importunate for the restoration of the country.

Fabrication of new loans.

1805

Revenues of the Carnatic.

1785

Contrary to the advice of the Court of Directors, Mr. Dundas ordered the districts to be given back to the nabob, that is, to his creditors, who began again to reap a rich harvest, while the Madras Presidency, with an army seven months in arrears, was reduced to a state bordering on bankruptcy.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS—MYSORE WAR.

A.D. 1785

On the departure of Hastings, Mr. Macpherson, the senior member of Council succeeded temporarily to the Government. He had originally gone out to India as purser of one of the Company's vessels, but attached himself to the nabob of the Carnatic and returned to England as his agent, and through the influence of the Duke of Grafton, who highly appreciated his abilities, was appointed to the Madras civil service, from which he was subsequently promoted to the Bengal Council. The great merit of his brief administration, which lasted only twenty-two months, lay in his economical reforms which resulted in the laudable reduction of a crore and a half of annual expenditure.

Mr. Macpherson officiating Governor-General.

1786

The Government of the Company's possessions since the battle of Plassy had hitherto been given to one of the officers on their own establishment in India, but it was found that whatever advantage might be derived from his local knowledge and experience was counterbalanced by the trammels of local associations, and the difficulty of exercising a due control over those who had once been his equals. The ministry determined, therefore, to select for the office of Governor-General a nobleman of high character, unfettered by any Indian ties of friendship or relationship. Lord Macartney, the governor of Madras, was chosen for the appointment, but he disgusted Mr. Dundas by endeavouring to make terms with the ministry, and Lord Cornwallis was

Lord Cornwallis Governor-General.

A.D. 1786 nominated in his stead, and he assumed charge of the Government in September, 1786. And thus, by the singular caprice of events, the man who had surrendered a British army to Washington at York Town, which entailed the loss of America, was appointed to govern India, while the man who had saved India under the most arduous circumstances was subjected to a prosecution for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The Government of Lord Cornwallis commenced under the most auspicious circumstances. Hastings's administration had been crippled by the chronic opposition of the home authorities at the India House and Downing Street. Lord Cornwallis enjoyed the entire confidence of Mr. Pitt, and of the Board of Control, to which the Directors were subordinate, and of which his friend Mr. Dundas was President. The office of Commander-in-Chief was likewise united with that of Governor-General, and Lord Cornwallis was thus enabled to control all the military arrangements and expenditure. Hastings had only a single voice in the Council, while his successor was invested with the power of overruling the votes of his colleagues whenever he deemed it necessary. The Court of Directors had been in the habit of nominating their friends and relatives to the most lucrative appointments in India, and the influence of this independent connection greatly fettered the authority of government, and fostered and protected abuses. Hastings had protested against it, but he had not sufficient official strength to secure success; Lord Cornwallis, on the other hand, was strong in the support of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and threatened to resign the Government unless it was discontinued; It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that the arrival of Lord Cornwallis should have quenched the spirit of faction and intrigue, and given a higher tone to the Government.

Advantages of Cornwallis's position.

1786 to 1789 Lord Cornwallis's economical reforms.

The first three years of his administration were occupied in the reform of abuses, which were to be traced mainly to the vicious and traditional policy of the Court of Directors of giving small salaries, and allowing indefinite perquisites. The salaries came from their own treasury, but the perquisites from the pockets of the people. Every man, as Lord Cornwallis remarked, who returned to England rich was deemed a rogue, and every man who went home poor a fool. He found the system of peculation in full vigour. The treasurer was lending the public funds at twelve per cent.

The Commander-in-Chief had given two of his favourites the lucrative commission of raising two regiments, but while they drew full allowances for the men, the regiments existed only on paper. The collectors of the land revenue, who were also armed with the power of magistrates, monopolised the trade of the district under fictitious names, and amassed fortunes. The post of political Resident at the court of the raja of Benares was considered worth four lacs of rupees a year, while the salary attached to it did not exceed a thousand rupees a month.

Lord Cornwallis set himself to the task of reforming these abuses with unflinching vigour. He hunted out frauds in every corner, put a period to jobbing agencies, and exorbitant contracts. He refused to allow men of power and influence at home to quarter their friends and kindred, and sometimes their victims at the gambling-table, on Indian appointments, and he had the courage to decline the recommendations of the Prince of Wales, "who," he wrote, "was always pressing "some infamous and unjustifiable job upon him;" but it was not till he had convinced the Court of Directors of the truth which Clive and Hastings had in vain pressed on them, that "it was not good economy to put men into "places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in "their power to make fortunes in a few months, without "giving them adequate salaries," that the purification of the public service became practicable. It has continued to improve ever since, notwithstanding the growth of the empire, and the Indian service now presents an example of administrative integrity which has seldom, if ever, been equalled.

A.D. 1786 to 1789. Lord Cornwallis's stern vigour.

The Vizier lost no time in renewing the request he had not ceased for years to make, to be relieved from the expense of the Company's troops stationed in his dominions for their protection, but the rapid increase of Sindia's encroachments in Hindostan, and the growing power of the Sikhs, convinced Lord Cornwallis that the troops could not be withdrawn without great risk, but he reduced the charge by one third. The Vizier was likewise delivered from the pressure of the European harpies, who, under the predominance of British influence, had long been preying on him, one of whom, Colonel Hannay, had amassed a fortune of thirty lacs in a few years. He likewise conferred an inestimable boon on him by peremptorily refusing to recognise the claims of

1786. The affairs of Oude.

any of his private creditors, whether European or native, and thus saved him from the fate of the nabob of Arcot. But he did not fail to remonstrate with him, though in vain, on the abuses of his administration. The only concern of the Vizier was to obtain the means of personal gratification, and hence the zemindar was allowed to squeeze the ryot and the ministers to squeeze the zemindar, and he squeezed the ministers and public officers when they were sufficiently gorged with plunder, and squandered the money in boundless dissipation.

By the treaty with the Nizam, the Guntoor Sircar was assigned to the Company after the death of his brother Basalut Jung. He died in 1782, but the Nizam steadily evaded the surrender of it, and Lord Cornwallis, when taking leave of the Directors, was directed peremptorily to demand it. In 1788, he drew a body of troops to the frontier, and instructed the Resident to claim the full execution of the treaty. To his great surprise, the Nizam at once acceded to his wishes, but he also expressed his confidence that the Company's Government would with equal alacrity fulfil the obligations to which they were bound by the other articles of the treaty; which were, to assist him with two battalions of troops, and six pieces of artillery whenever he should require their services, and to reduce and transfer to him the province of the Carnatic Balaghaut, then usurped by Hyder Naik. With his usual duplicity he despatched an envoy simultaneously to Tippoo to propose an alliance for the extirpation of the English. Tippoo readily embraced the proposal, and demanded the hand of one of the Hyderabad princesses, but the Tartar blood of the son of Cheen Killich boiled at the idea of a matrimonial alliance with the son of a naik, or head constable, and the negotiation was broken off.

The Guntoor Sircar.

A.D. 1788

Lord Cornwallis was disconcerted by this manœuvre. Since the unfortunate treaty of 1768, the Company's Government had twice acknowledged Hyder and Tippoo as the lawful sovereigns of this province, and to furnish the Nizam with the English brigade he desired would lead to dangerous complications; on the other hand, it was important to prevent his throwing himself into the arms of Tippoo. To meet the difficulty, Lord Cornwallis addressed an official letter to him, engaging to transfer the province if it should come into the possession of the Company with the aid of his troops, and likewise to furnish him with the brigade on condition

Lord Cornwallis's imprudent letter.

1789

that it should not be employed against any of the allies of the Company, a list of whom, which did not include the name of Tippoo, was subjoined. Tippoo was naturally irritated to find that the dismemberment of his dominions was within the contemplation of the Governor-General, and that he was prepared to place a British force at the disposal of the Nizam, with liberty to employ it against him. That this communication was highly injudicious will not be questioned; but it is idle to attribute the war with Tippoo six months after to its influence, inasmuch as he had fitted out an expedition against the raja of Travancore six months before the date of it. A.D. 1789

The little principality of Travancore, at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast, had been placed under British protection by the treaty of Mangalore. Tippoo, who had long coveted the possession of it, had been for some time assembling an army to invade it, and the raja, to strengthen his defences, had purchased two towns in the neighbourhood of the Dutch. Tippoo demanded the surrender of them on the plea that they belonged to his vassal, the raja of Cochin. The raja appealed to Lord Cornwallis, who directed the authorities at Madras to inform both him and Tippoo that if the Dutch had really held independent and unreserved possession of these places, the raja was to be supported in retaining them. Mr. Holland, the governor of Madras, more unprincipled than any of his predecessors, not only withheld this communication from Tippoo, but endeavoured to extort a lac of pagodas for himself from the raja as the condition of supporting him. The army on the Coast was likewise kept in an inefficient state, and the pay of the troops was allowed to fall into arrears, while, in direct violation of the orders of Lord Cornwallis, the public revenues were appropriated to the payment of the creditors of the nabob, of whom he was one of the principal. Tippoo suddenly attacked the "lines of Travancore," as they were termed, —the defensive wall the raja had erected—and was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men, upon which he ordered up a battering train from Seringapatam, and reinforcements from every quarter. This wanton attack of an ally was an unequivocal declaration of war against the Company, but Holland proposed a pacific adjustment of the question to Tippoo, and soon after deserted his post and embarked for England. Travancore and the Madras Government. 1789

Lord Cornwallis considered it essential to our honour to

defend an ally, and to take up the gauntlet which Tippoo had thrown down. It was not a time for pottering over Acts of Parliament, and he proceeded at once to offer alliances, offensive and defensive, to the two native powers in the Deccan, the Nizam and the Peshwa, which their hatred and dread of Tippoo led them to accept with great alacrity. A tripartite treaty was concluded which provided that they should simultaneously attack Tippoo's dominions, and join the British army with 10,000 horse, if required, for whose services they were to be reimbursed, and that the Mysore territories and forts conquered by their united arms should be equally divided among them.

Lord Cornwallis's alliances.

A.D. 1790

General Medows, an officer of acknowledged ability, had arrived at Madras as governor and Commander in Chief, and Lord Cornwallis entrusted the conduct of the campaign to him. The deficiency of the commissariat, owing to the profligate neglect of Holland, retarded the departure of the army for several months, but the General was enabled to march from Trichinopoly on the 26th of May, at the head of a force of 15,000 men. Coimbatoor was captured in July, and Palghat and Dindigul, both deemed impregnable, in September, but the force was injudiciously separated, and Tippoo, by a masterly movement, interposed between the divisions, one of which suffered heavy loss both in men and guns. When the war became inevitable Lord Cornwallis adopted the bold plan of Hastings, and despatched a large expedition to Madras along the coast where we had no allies; and, notwithstanding the able dispositions of Tippoo to prevent its junction with the Madras army, it was effected without a conflict. Tippoo then proceeded southward, closely followed by General Medows, but these marches and countermarches, which were without result, subjected the troops to severe fatigue, and weakened their confidence in the General. The campaign proved abortive, and Lord Cornwallis determined to take the command of the army into his own hands.

General Medows's abortive campaign.

1790

He arrived at Madras on the 12th December and made the most vigorous preparations to take the field. Meanwhile, Tippoo proceeded to the north, and having ravaged the Carnatic, marched south to Pondicherry, and despatched a mission to Paris, to Louis XVI., soliciting the aid of 6,000 troops, for whom he would make suitable provision. The unhappy king was then in the vortex of the Revolution, and replied: "This resembles the affair of

Second campaign.

"America, of which I never think without regret. My "youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we are "suffering for it now; the lesson is too severe to be for-"gotten." The army was assembled at Vellore, on the 11th February, and marched without any opposition to A.D. Bangalore, which capitulated on the 21st, but not before 1791 Tippoo had succeeded, by forced marches, in removing his seraglio and his treasure. The Nizam's contingent of 10,000 horse was assembled at Hyderabad in the preceding year, but did not enter Tippoo's dominions till it was certain that he had marched southward, and that there was no risk of encountering him. In 1791, they hastened to join Lord Cornwallis's camp as soon as they heard that Bangalore had capitulated; but there was neither discipline nor valour in their ranks, and the flaunting cavaliers were unable to protect their own foraging parties, and soon ceased to move beyond the English pickets. Lord Cornwallis was now in full march on Seringapatam, and Tippoo determined to try the result of a battle. It was fought at Arikera, and he sustained a total Battle of Arikera. defeat. From the summit of the hill, where the last shot was fired, the eastern face of the capital greeted the eyes of the victors; but here, to their deep chagrin, the campaign terminated. For several weeks the army had been suffering the extremity of want. The stores, scanty when the army began its march, were rapidly exhausted; Tippoo's light horse intercepted all supplies, and created a desert round the camp. On the 20th May the artillery officers reported that the bullocks were reduced to such a state that they could no longer drag the heavy guns, and Lord Cornwallis was convinced that the safety of the army depended on an immediate retreat. General Abercromby, who had been sent with a force from Bombay to cooperate with Lord Cornwallis from the western coast, had arrived within forty miles of the capital, but was directed on the 21st May to destroy a portion of his siege guns and bury the rest and retire to the coast. The next day Lord Cornwallis destroyed his own battering train and began his melancholy return to Madras.

By the coalition treaty, signed on the 1st June, the regency at Poona engaged to furnish 10,000 troops to operate against Tippoo, but the minister, Nana Furnavese, still The Mahratta army. allowed his envoys to remain at the court, in the hope—which he did not conceal—that, at the eleventh hour, Tippoo might be induced to purchase his neutrality by

a concession of territory. When this expectation vanished and the Mahratta force took the field, it became evident that the primary object of the Nana was to use the British artillery in recovering the fortresses which Tippoo had wrested from the Mahrattas, and six months were occupied in the siege of Dharwar. Hence, in the first campaign of 1790, the Peshwa's force rendered no assistance whatever. In the campaign of 1791 it joined the army of Lord Cornwallis only on the first day of the retreat. If he had received any intimation of its approach, the result of the campaign might have been different; but his intelligence department was deplorable, while Tippoo's admirable establishment of scouts intercepted all communication. The bazaar of the Mahratta army, rich with the spoils of India, presented a singular contrast to the poverty of the English camp, and the provisions they brought, though sold at an exorbitant price, proved a seasonable relief to the famishing English soldiers. The Mahratta sirdars, who had been enriching themselves by pillage from the day they took the field, set up a plea of poverty, and demanded an advance of fourteen lacs of rupees, which Lord Cornwallis was constrained to make to prevent the transfer of their alliance to Tippoo. It was on this occasion that he followed the example of Hastings, and took the funds provided for the Company's investment out of the holds of their ships.

A.D. 1791 — Preparations for the third campaign.

On his return to Madras Lord Cornwallis employed the army in the conquest of the Baramahal and the capture of the fortresses with which the country was studded. Nothing filled the native princes with such awe of the military power of the Company, as the ease and rapidity with which such forts as Kistnaghery, Nundidroog, Savandroog, and others that were deemed impregnable, were captured, while they considered themselves fortunate if forts of inferior strength were taken after a siege of six months. Early in January Lord Cornwallis took the field with a convoy surpassing in magnitude anything which had been seen before, and which led Tippoo to exclaim: "It is not what I see of the "resources of the English that I dread, as what I do not "see." The army consisted of 22,000 men and eighty-six field pieces and siege guns. It was augmented, but by no means strengthened, by about 8,000 of the Nizam's troops, more showy than serviceable, and a small contingent of Mahratta horse. On the 5th February the whole force reached a position which commanded a view of Seringapatam,

1792

situated on an island of the Cauvery, protected by three lines of defence mounting three hundred guns, and surrounded by a hedge of thorny plants absolutely impervious to man or beast. Tippoo's army was encamped on the northern bank of the stream, in a strongly fortified position, which Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred on the 6th, and determined to storm the same night. The generals of the allies were lost in astonishment when they heard that the English commander had gone out "like an ordinary "captain," in a dark night without guns, to assail these formidable lines The conflict, which was carried on throughout the night, terminated in the capture of all Tippoo's redoubts, and the establishment of the British force in the island itself. Soon after Lord Cornwallis was strengthened by the junction of General Abercromby's force of 6,000 men from Bombay, and the operations were pushed on with such vigour that Tippoo was assured by his principal officers that no dependence could any longer be placed on his troops, and that he had nothing left but submission. Threatened as he was with the loss of his kingdom he accepted the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis:—that he should surrender half his dominions, pay a war indemnity of three crores, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The generals of the Peshwa and the Nizam left the negotiations entirely with the English plenipotentiary; but after they had been completed, the Mahratta commander put in a demand of sixty lacs for himself and the Nizam's general, as a "reasonable remuner- "ation for their labours in the negotiations," but consented to its reduction by one half. From documents found at Seringapatam when it was captured six years later, it appears that the generals of both the allies were all the time engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo, the perfidious object of which was happily defeated by the prompt movements of Lord Cornwallis and the early completion of the treaty. The coalition treaty provided that the territories and fortresses conquered by their united exertions should be equally divided among the three signataries. The Mahrattas had given no assistance in the war; indeed, their main body did not join the English camp until a fortnight after the treaty had been signed. The Nizam's force had done nothing but consume food and forage; but Lord Cornwallis determined to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to the original compact, and made over a third of the indemnity, as well as of the territory, to each of his

1792

A.D. 1792 confederates, annexing only one third, of the annual value of forty lacs of rupees, to the Company's territories.

This was the first acquisition of territory after it had been resolved to prevent it by Act of Parliament. Mr. Pitt, when introducing his Bill in 1784, stated that his first and principal object was to prevent the governor of Bengal from being ambitious, and bent on conquest; but, though the dread of territorial expansion was the bugbear of the day, and continued to haunt the India House and Downing Street till we had absorbed all India, the tendency of our policy for twenty years had lain in an opposite direction. Clive had given back the kingdom of Oude in 1762, when it was forfeited by the issue of the war, and he denounced any attempt to extend our dominions beyond the Curumnussa. Hastings was at one time prepared to relinquish the Northern Sircars; Lord Cornwallis, soon after he assumed the Government expressed his wish to withdraw from the Malabar coast, and reduce Bombay to the position of a factory; and Lord Shelburn, when prime minister in 1782, proposed to abandon Madras, and give up everything but Bengal and Bombay. If the size of the Indian empire had depended on the wishes or the policy of the public authorities of the day, it would have been comprised within very narrow limits.

Remarks on the growth of the empire.

The increase of the Company's dominions in India, which was reprobated by the Court of Directors, by Parliament and by the ministry, arose from the progress of circumstances over which none of those authorities had any control. From time immemorial, aggression had been the vital principle of all native states. Twenty-five centuries before, the father of Hindoo legislation had placed conquest among the foremost of royal virtues. "What the king has not got," said Munoo, "let him "strive to gain by military strength;" and it was a precept never disregarded. The Mahomedans adopted this standing rule, not only in reference to infidel princes, but to those of their own creed. Every new dynasty proceeded to attack and appropriate the dominions of its neighbours. During the eighteenth century, the political cauldron in India had been seething with more than ordinary violence. The four chief powers of the period, Tippoo, the Nizam, the Peshwa and Sindia, who, had been established within the previous sixty years, were maintained in vigour by the impulse of aggressiveness. Scarcely a year had passed

Cause of the growth.

without an invasion of the rights of some prince in Hindostan or the Deccan. It was in this state of things that the Company appeared on the scene, and took up arms for the defence of their factories, and by the superior discipline and valour of their troops became a first-rate military power, and consequently an object of jealousy and dread to the belligerent princes of India. It was the restlessness and encroachment of the native princes, and not the ambition of English rulers, that gave rise to nearly all the wars in which they were engaged. The slightest symptom of weakness, and too frequently the appearance of moderation, became the signal for hostility; and when the aggression was subdued it appeared the dictate of prudence to prevent the repetition of it by reducing the resources of the aggressor, and depriving him of some portion of his territory. And thus has the British empire in India been gradually extended by a mysterious and inexorable necessity, which has overpowered not only the opposition of the India House and the ministry, and the denunciations of English patriots, but the omnipotence of Parliament. The House of Commons ratified all the proceedings of Lord Cornwallis, not excepting even the acquisition of territory, and the king conferred on him the dignity of a marquis. The precedent has been scrupulously followed ever since, and every Governor-General who has enlarged the British dominions in India has received the thanks of Parliament and been decorated with honours by the Crown.* A.D. 1793

SECTION II.

LORD CORNWALLIS'S ADMINISTRATION—REVENUE AND JUDICIAL REFORMS—PROGRESS OF SINDIA.

THE brilliant success of the Mysore war reflected great credit on Lord Cornwallis; but the permanent reputation of his administration rests on his revenue and judicial reforms. The changes which had been so repeatedly made in the revenue arrangements during the thirty years of our rule were found to have been equally detrimental to the welfare of the ryots and the interests of the state, and Lord Cornwallis, soon after his arrival, affirmed that agriculture and internal commerce were in a state of rapid decay, and that no class appeared to flourish Revenue reforms.

but the money-lenders. The Court of Directors felt the necessity of adopting some decisive policy to arrest the progress of ruin, and accordingly framed their memorable letter
A.D. of the 12th April, the salient points of which were, that the
1786 settlement should be made with the old zemindars, and not with farmers or with temporary renters,—on the ground of fiscal expediency, and not as a matter of right,—and for a period of ten years, and eventually, if it was found to work well, in perpetuity. Lord Cornwallis employed three years in endeavouring to acquire information on the subject to serve as the basis of a settlement. The fee simple of the land had always been considered as belonging to the sovereign, but the Court of Directors, acting on a generous and enlightened policy, determined to confer it on the zemindars, and thus give them a permanent interest in the soil. The land thus became real property, and a large and opulent class of landholders was thereby created. The relationship between the zemindar and the ryot was an important question, and involved in great perplexity, which has not yet been removed. The zemindar had always squeezed out of the ryot every farthing that could be realised, leaving him little beyond a rag and a hovel. Mr. Shore, who superintended the settlement, the ablest revenue officer in India, was of opinion that some decisive provision should be made to ensure an equitable adjustment of the demands of the zemindar, but, unfortunately, the regulations passed to protect the ryot from extortion were indefinite and inadequate. He was, indeed, permitted to resort to law, but to expect that a poor cultivator could appeal to the courts against a rich and powerful landlord was an absurdity. This defect was unquestionably a blot in the settlement, which, in other respects, was benevolent, if not beneficent.

After the settlement had been completed, the important question arose whether it should be decennial or permanent.
1792 The permanent settlement. Lord Cornwallis maintained that a fixed and unalterable settlement was the only panacea for the evils which afflicted the country, and the only protection from the still greater ruin which threatened it, and that the grant of this boon would give the zemindars an irresistible inducement to promote the cultivation of the land and the welfare of the ryots. On the other hand, Mr. Shore, who was far better acquainted with the subject than the Governor-General, opposed with equal tenacity the proposal to make the settlement irrevocable. He argued

that the Government had only the roughest estimate of the capabilities of the land and of the collections, that the land revenue formed the bone and muscle of the public resources, and that it was preposterous to fix the revenue for ever without any definition of the boundaries of estates, and when a third of Bengal was a jungle. As to the public spirit of the zemindars which a permanent settlement was expected to foster, he justly remarked that the whole zemindary system was a mere conflict of extortion on the one part and resistance on the other, and that it was vain to hope for any improvement. The question was referred to Leadenhall Street, and some of the Directors, influenced partly by their own local experience in India and partly by Mr. Shore's opinion, proposed to make it decennial. It was then placed before the Board of Control, and Mr. Pitt, who had studied Indian subjects as no prime minister has ever studied them since, closely investigated it for a week in conjunction with Mr. Dundas and Mr. Charles Grant, and came to the determination to make the settlement permanent, and it was promulgated at Calcutta A.D. on the 22nd March, 1793. It was the boldest and most important administrative measure the Company had ever ventured upon. Under its operation cultivation has been extended, and the opulence of the provinces has been augmented; the zemindars, and those who have acquired interests in the land under them, have grown wealthy, and the comfort of the cultivators has, perhaps, been promoted. But it is now universally felt that the permanent character given to it was an egregious blunder, and that a term of fifty years, if not of a shorter period, would have equally promoted the object in view. No margin was allowed to meet the inevitable increase of expenditure which would be required for the defence of the country, or for the improvement of it by the institutions of civilisation. The Government has, however, continued for a period of eighty years to maintain the settlement to the very letter with scrupulous fidelity under every emergency, and has thus exhibited an example of good faith heretofore unknown in India. 1793

The administration of Lord Cornwallis was likewise distinguished by a radical change in the fiscal and judicial branches. The control of the revenue was concentrated in a board in Calcutta. A civil court was established in each district and in the principal cities, presided over by a covenanted servant of the Company. Four courts of appeal were erected at Calcutta, Civil and criminal courts.

A.D. 1793 Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Patna, from whose decisions an appeal lay to the sudder or chief court at the Presidency, composed of the Governor-General and the members of Council. The judges of the four courts of appeal were to proceed on circuit twice a year to administer criminal justice and to hold jail deliveries. The district judges were likewise invested with magisterial powers, and authorised to pass sentence in trivial matters, and to commit delinquents for trial before the judges of circuit. Within circles of about twenty miles a native officer, called a daroga, was appointed to arrest offenders on written charges, and to take security, not only for his appearance, but also for that of the witnesses, before the magistrate. For more than ten years the simple rules for the administration of justice drawn up by Sir Elijah Impey had been the manual of the courts. Lord Cornwallis determined that all the regulations affecting the rights, the property, and the persons of the subjects of Government should be embodied in a code, and translated into Bengalee and Persian. Mr. George Barlow, a civilian of mark, but without any legal education, was entrusted with the charge of drawing up the new code, and he expanded the ordinances of Sir Elijah into a bulky folio of regulations, but without improving them. This volume of laws, however valuable as a monument of British philanthropy, was little suited to the habits or wants of a people accustomed to prompt and simple justice. The course of procedure was loaded with formalities, and, combined with the multiplication of technical rules, tended to defeat the object in view. Every suit became a game of chess; "justice," as the natives observed, "was made sour by delay," and equity was smothered by legal processes. To crown the grievance, the business of the courts was transacted in a language—the Persian—equally foreign to the judges, the suitors, and the witnesses.

The code.

The wisdom and judgment manifested in Lord Cornwallis's various institutions have always been freely acknowledged, but they were deformed by one great and radical blemish. From the days of Akbar all civil and military offices, even those of the highest grade, had, with occasional exceptions, been open to all the natives of the country; and, in the early days of Hastings, some of the most important offices in the state had been enjoyed by natives of merit or influence. Lord Cornwallis pronounced the natives unworthy of trust, and considered that the administration in every department

1793 Exclusion of natives.

ought to be conducted by the Company's covenanted servants, some three hundred in number, to the entire exclusion of native agency, with the exception of the daroga on twenty-five rupees a month, and a moonsiff to try petty civil suits, to be paid by a commission on them; in other words, by the encouragement of litigation. Every prospect of honourable ambition was thus closed at once against the natives of the country, and the fatal effects of this ostracism were speedily visible in the inefficiency of the whole system of government.

The only other event of any note in the year 1793 was the capture of Pondicherry on the declaration of war between France and England at the outbreak of the Revolution. Lord Cornwallis embarked for England in October, after a memorable reign of seven years, during which period he had contributed to the purity and vigour of the power created by the daring of Clive, and consolidated by the genius of Hastings. The dignity of his character, and his firmness and integrity, combined with his calmness and moderation, conciliated and swayed the native princes, and commanded the cheerful obedience of the European servants.

Capture of Pondicherry. A.D. 1793

The treaty of Salbye, which Sindia had concluded with Hastings in 1782 on the part of the Peshwa, gave him an elevated position in the Mahratta commonwealth. He was no longer the mere feudatory of Poona, but an independent chief, and an ally of the British Government, and he determined to push his schemes of ambition in Hindostan, for which circumstances were peculiarly favourable. The imbecile emperor was a mere puppet in the hands of his minister, Afrasiab Khan, who invited Sindia, in his master's name, to assist in demolishing the power of his rival, Mahomed Beg, and he accordingly advanced with a large army to Agra, where he had an interview with the emperor. Soon after Afrasiab was assassinated, and Sindia became master of the situation, and was appointed the executive minister of the empire, with the command of the imperial troops. The districts of Agra and Delhi were assigned for their support, and he was thus put in possession of the Doab, the province lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, and its great resources. Intoxicated with this success, he preferred a demand for the *chout* of Bengal, which was indignantly rejected by Mr. Macpherson, the officiating Governor-General. He then proceeded to demand the arrears of

Progress of Sindia.

1784

1785

tribute, which he stated at sixty lacs of rupees, from the Rajpoots at the gates of Jeypore. The greater portion of the amount was paid, but, on his demanding the balance, the Rajpoots made common cause to resist him. In the battle which ensued, he was deserted by Mahomed Beg, and by the whole of the imperial troops, who took over
A.D. eighty pieces of cannon to the enemy. He was discomfited
1787 and fled from the field, and in his extremity entreated Nana Furnavese, the head of the regency at Poona, to aid him in supporting the Mahratta authority in Hindostan. The Nana was jealous of his growing power, but despatched troops under Holkar, although rather with the object of watching his movements than of supporting them.

Ishmael Beg. Mahomed Beg fell in the battle, but his place was supplied by his nephew, Ishmael Beg, who laid siege to Agra, on the part of the Rajpoots, and was joined by Gholam Khadir, a Rohilcund jageerdar, and his free lances. Sindia advanced to raise the siege, but was again completely defeated in a battle fought on the 24th April. Gholam Khadir was recalled to defend his own jageer from the encroachments of the Sikhs, now rising into power, and Sindia took advantage of his absence to attack Ishmael Beg,
1788 who was defeated, and escaped from the field by the swiftness of his horse. He joined Gholam, and the united chiefs advanced to Delhi, of which Gholam obtained possession, and his licentious soldiery were let loose on the imperial city, which was subjected for two months to such scenes of violence, rapine and barbarity, as were said to be "almost without example in the annals of the world." The ladies of the seraglio were exposed and dishonoured,
1788 and some of them starved to death, and the unhappy monarch, plundered and dethroned, was deprived of sight by this monster of cruelty. Ishmael Beg turned with horror from these atrocities, and accepted service with Sindia, who proceeded to Delhi, reseated the emperor with great pomp on his throne, and made every effort to alleviate his sorrows. Gholam Khadir fled on his approach, but was captured, and deliberately hacked to pieces. The turbulent Ishmael Beg did not long remain faithful to Sindia, but again joined the Rajpoots, whom Sindia de-
1790 feated at Patun in 1790, and the next year at Mairta.
The success of both these engagements was due chiefly to
1791 the disciplined battalions of the Count de Boigne, a native of Savoy, an officer of distinguished ability and great military experience, who had come out to India in search of

employment, and entered the service of Sindia, and induced him to create a sepoy corps on the model of the Company's army. De Boigne raised and organised a large force, disciplined by European officers, the majority of whom were natives of France. It was eventually augmented to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse and 600 Persian cavalry, with 200 pieces of artillery. This formidable force rendered Sindia the paramount native power in Hindostan, and the most important member of the Mahratta body.

Sindia offered to join the alliance against Tippoo, promoted by Lord Cornwallis, on condition that the Company's Government should guarantee all the possessions he had acquired in Hindostan, and furnish him with two battalions of troops, similar to those granted to the Nizam. These proposals were considered inadmissible, and he declined to become a party to the treaty of Poona. That he might, however, be in a position to take advantage of circumstances in the war in which the princes of the Deccan were about to be engaged with Tippoo, he proceeded with an army to the Mahratta capital, greatly to the annoyance of Nana Furnavese, who dreaded his ambitious designs. He had obtained from the impotent emperor the title of Vakeel-i-Mootluk, or regent of the Mogul empire, for the Peshwa, and for himself the office of hereditary deputy, and he gave out as the pretext for the journey that he was proceeding to the Mahratta capital to invest the Peshwa with this dignity. The Nana and the ministers could not view without disgust the acceptance of honours by the head of the Mahratta power from the puppet of an emperor, but their opposition was unavailing. Sindia had gained a complete ascendency over the young Peshwa by his cheerful and genial demeanour, which formed a strong contrast to the stern and morose bearing of the prime minister, Nana Furnavese. Sindia had, moreover, brought a variety of rarities for him from Hindostan, and studied to make arrangements for his amusement. The ceremony was imposing beyond anything which had been seen at Poona. A grand suite of tents was pitched in the vicinity of the city, a throne was placed to represent that of the Great Mogul, on which the patent and the insignia were deposited. The Peshwa, surrounded by his whole court and the representatives of foreign powers, approached the throne and made his obeisance, and then retiring to another tent was invested

Sindia at Poona.

A.D. 1792

Investiture of the Peshwa. 1792

with the gorgeous robes of the office, and returned to Poona with such pomp and grandeur as the inhabitants had never before witnessed. Sindia and Nana Furnavese, though plotting each others' destruction, maintained an outward appearance of civility, but their armies could not be restrained from hostility in Hindostan. The forces of Holkar and Sindia were jointly engaged in levying tribute from the Rajpoots, but they quarrelled about the division of the spoil. Sindia's commander, De Boigne, with 20,000 horse and 9,000 infantry, attacked Holkar's army, consisting of 30,000 men, including four battalions disciplined by his French general. Holkar was completely
A.D. defeated, and the four regiments were all but annihilated,
1792 only one European officer escaping the carnage. This victory rendered Sindia the first power among the Mahrattas, and deepened the apprehensions of his rival Nana Furnavese, but he was relieved from all anxiety by the
1794 Death of Mahdajee Sindia. unexpected death of Sindia, on the 12th February. For thirty-five years he may be said to have passed his life in his camp, devoting his time and energies to the improvement of his army and the increase of his possessions. From his father he received a small principality, and he bequeathed to his son a kingdom, extending from the Sutlege to Allahabad, and including two-thirds of Malwa, and some of the fairest provinces in the Deccan, and the most efficient military force in India.

The period for which their exclusive privileges had been granted to the Company expired in 1793, and the Court of
1793 The new Charter. Directors applied to Parliament for the renewal of them. But new commercial and manufacturing interests had been springing up in England with great vigour, and petitions poured into the House from Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, Manchester, and other seats of industry and enterprise, protesting against the exclusion of the country from any share in the trade of India. The India House met these representations by the bold assertion that it was essential to the national interests that the Company should be the sole agents for conducting the commerce and the government of India. The ministry found the existing state of things exceedingly comfortable, inasmuch as Indian affairs were, on all essential questions, under their control. Lord Cornwallis had placed the finances of India in a flourishing condition, and Mr. Dundas, the India minister, asked the House with an air of triumph, whether they were prepared to interrupt this tide of

prosperity and the growing commerce of India for a mere theory. His arguments were received with blind confidence in a House in which free trade was considered the inevitable road to ruin; and the monopoly of the Company was renewed for twenty years, although, to meet the clamours of the merchants, the Company were directed to allot 3,000 tons a year for their private trade. An effort was made by Mr. Wilberforce to obtain permission for missionaries and schoolmasters to proceed to India and give instruction, religious and secular, to the natives who might desire it, but it was resisted by the ministry, the Court of Directors, and the old Indians. The charter of 1793 was a faithful mirror of the views of an age in which it was considered that the introduction of free trade and European settlers, of schoolmasters and missionaries, would be fatal to the British power in India.

SECTION III.

SIR JOHN SHORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

LORD CORNWALLIS was succeeded by Sir John Shore, one of the ablest of the Company's servants, and the author of the permanent settlement. In a letter to Mr. Dundas on the subject of appointing his successor, Lord Cornwallis had said that "nobody but a person who had never been in the service, and who was essentially unconnected with its members, who was of a rank far surpassing his associates in the government, and who had the full support of the ministry at home, was competent for the office of Governor-General." This letter, however, did not reach England till after the selection of Sir John Shore had been made, at the instance of Mr. Pitt, who was favourably impressed with the industry, the candour, and the ability exhibited by him in reference to the revenue settlement. He entered on his duties on the 28th October, 1793. Sir John Shore's antecedents. A.D. 1793

The first question which arose to try the mettle of the new Governor-General was connected with the politics of the Deccan. After the termination of the war with Tippoo, Lord Cornwallis, anxious to secure permanent peace to the Deccan, submitted to the two native princes who were parties to the tripartite treaty of The guarantee treaty. 1793

1790 the draft of a "treaty of mutual guarantee," which would have established a balance of power in the Deccan, and guarded the rights of the princes from mutual aggression. The Nizam, as being the weakest, agreed to it with alacrity; but the Mahrattas had a long account against him which it was not their policy to close, and which they intended to settle by the sword, and they therefore, declined any engagement which would interfere with the designs they formed against him. After twelve months of fruitless discussion, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to abandon all hope of securing the concurrence of the Poona regency. Sindia had been the most strenuous opponent of the guarantee treaty, and his death seemed to present a favourable opportunity for renewing the negotiation, and making a vigorous effort to preserve the tranquillity of the Deccan, then menaced by the Mahrattas. They fully anticipated some decisive interference on the part of the Company's Government, such as they knew Lord Cornwallis would have undertaken. But they soon perceived that the sceptre was now in feeble hands, and they hastened their preparations when they found that Sir John Shore had resolved to limit his intervention to "good offices." The Nizam, who advanced counter claims of even greater amount than those of the Mahrattas, immediately claimed the fulfilment of the treaty of 1790; but Sir John lacked the spirit of his predecessor. He had a morbid dread of offending the Mahratta powers, and he paid a servile homage to the Act of Parliament which discountenanced native alliances, though Lord Cornwallis had driven his coach through it, and he resolved to remain neuter in the impending struggle. It is, however, due to his memory to state that this decision was evidently influenced, to a considerable extent, by the incompetency of the Commanders-in-Chief at all the Presidencies, with none of whom could he venture to undertake hostilities.

A.D. 1793 Rejected by the Mahrattas.

1794

To assemble a Mahratta army when there was any hope of plunder had never presented any difficulty. On this occasion the young Peshwa, having determined to take the field in person, summoned his feudatories of every degree, and it proved to be the last time they were ever assembled together under the national standard. Sindia, Holkar, the raja of Nagpore, the Gaikwar, and the southern jageerdars, each furnished a quota, and the whole force numbered 130,000 horse and foot, with 150 guns, while the army of the Nizam amounted to about

1795 Expedition against the Nizam.

110,000. The Nizam had engaged a French officer of the name of Raymond to discipline two battalions, which were increased to twenty-three when the struggle with the Mahrattas appeared inevitable. In the ranks of Sindia were likewise 10,000 men commanded by Perron, and 2,000 with Holkar, under Dudrenec; and the most efficient soldiers on each side were under the command of natives of France.

The two armies met on the 12th March, a little in advance of the village of Kurdla, which has given its name to this decisive battle. The advanced guard of the Nizam put to flight one large division of the Mahratta infantry, but the whole of the Nizam's cavalry broke and fled when it was assailed by the French force. Raymond's infantry had, however, obtained considerable advantage over Perron's, and there was some prospect of his ultimate success, when he was peremptorily ordered by his master to withdraw from the field. The Nizam had taken his zenana with him, and his favourite sultana, terrified by the roar of the cannon, insisted upon his retiring beyond its reach. The dotard yielded to her importunities, and the whole army retreated in wild confusion, although scarcely two hundred men had fallen in both armies. The Nizam took refuge in Kurdla, and within two days was obliged to sign a humiliating treaty, making cessions of territory of the value of thirty-five lacs a year, paying the sum of three crores of rupees, and delivering up his minister, the only able man at his court, to the Peshwa. The two battalions of Company's troops in his service were not permitted by Sir John Shore to assist him during the battle; and on his return to Hyderabad he dismissed them in disgust, and ordered Raymond to use every exertion to augment and discipline his sepoys, and assigned districts for their support. The power and influence in the Nizam's councils which Lord Cornwallis had secured for the Company, were thus transferred to the French.

Battle of Kurdla. A.D. 1795

The battle of Kurdla completely prostrated the Nizam, and the Mahrattas would doubtless have returned to complete his humiliation, but for the unexpected death of the Peshwa, and the confusion which it occasioned. Nana Furnavese had, with occasional intermissions, enjoyed the chief control in Mahratta affairs during his minority; but though the Peshwa was now of age, he was still kept in a state of galling tutelage, which at length became insupportable, and on the 25th October he 1795

Death of the Peshwa.

threw himself from a terrace in his palace, and expired two days after, bequeathing the crown to his cousin Bajee Rao, the son of the once famous Raghoba, who was then held in durance by Nana Furnavese. Then ensued a scene of intrigue and anarchy, which lasted more than three years, and which has scarcely a parallel in the native history of India. After a variety of convulsions, the fortunes of the Nana were reduced to the lowest ebb, but retrieved by his extraordinary genius. "The vigour of his judgment," observes the historian of the Mahrattas, "the fertility of "his resources, the extent of his influence, and the com- "bination of instruments he called into action, surprised "all India, and from his European contemporaries pro- "cured him the title of the Mahratta Machiavelli." He proposed to restore to the Nizam the territory which had been wrested from him, and to remit the balance remaining due, and having thus gained his assistance, as well as that
A.D. of Sindia and Holkar, marched in triumph to Poona,
1796 where he seated Bajee Rao on the throne, and regained his own power as prime minister. But Bajee Rao, the most perfidious of native princes, incited Sindia to destroy him, and he was treacherously seized at a banquet and
1797 sent prisoner to Ahmednugur. The Peshwa then made arrangements for the assassination of Sindia, but his courage failed him at the last moment, and he exhibited for the first time that indecision of character which marked all his future career.

Mutiny of European officers.

Mr. Dundas had announced his opinion that India could only be retained by a large European army, that the proportion of European to native troops should be as one to three, and that the whole force should be placed under the Crown, and "act in concert "with the general strength of the empire." The scheme of amalgamation which Lord Cornwallis had drawn up
1794 was not altogether approved by the Board of Control, or the Court of Directors, and Mr. Dundas undertook to draw up a second. But the European officers of the Company, who were opposed to any amalgamation, were already in a state of mutiny, and Sir John Shore found, on assuming the Government, that he had to deal with the insubordination of a whole army. The officers repressed their resentment while they awaited the arrival of Mr. Dundas's regulations, but their patience was exhausted by delay. On Christ-
1795 mas day Sir John convened the Council, and informed them that delegates had been elected from each regiment

to form an executive board, and that every regiment had bound itself to protect their persons and make good their losses. The terms which this board was to demand from the Government were, that the native regiments should not be reduced, or the European regiments increased, beyond a certain limit, and that all allowances which had been granted to the army at any time should be restored. If these conditions were not accepted, they were prepared to seize the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, and to take possession of the Government.

The Council was thunderstruck by this announcement. It was a crisis similar to that which the undaunted spirit of Clive had quelled in two months, thirty years before; but there was no Clive at Calcutta. Orders were sent to Madras and the Cape for troops, and the admiral was desired to bring up his fleet, and even De Boigne was asked for a regiment of Sindia's cavalry. The Commander-in-Chief went to Cawnpore, and by his courteous manners soothed the feelings of the officers, but it was the firmness of the artillery that stemmed the tide of mutiny. The long-expected regulations of Mr. Dundas arrived in May 1796, and disgusted all parties. The Governor-General himself described them as a mass of confusion. The flame of revolt blazed forth afresh in the army, and remonstrances poured in upon the bewildered Government. Sir John Shore, in writing to the Court of Directors, stated that the pressure was so severe that he had been obliged to give way. The regulations were modified and concessions made which exceeded even the expectations of the army. The intelligence of this submission filled the ministry with such alarm that it was resolved to supersede Sir John Shore forthwith, and Lord Cornwallis was importuned to proceed to India, if only for twelve months, and restore order. He was accordingly sworn in as Governor-General on the 1st February, and the appointment was duly notified at all the Presidencies. But the mutineers had a representative body of officers sitting in London, and, incredible as it may appear, the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, after having recalled Sir John Shore for his weakness, entered into negotiations with them and made concession after concession, and silenced one of the ringleaders by a lucrative post at the India House. An order was passed in reference to the mutiny which Lord Cornwallis described as "milk and water," and he threw up the appointment in disgust.

Submission of the government.

A.D. 1796

1797

The last act of Sir John Shore's administration was marked by as much vigour as those preceding it had been signalised by feebleness. The Vizier of Oude was a man of good disposition, but spoiled by the enjoyment of absolute power, and vitiated by the fools, knaves and sycophants who composed his court. The Government was completely effete, and but for the protection of British bayonets, the country would have been absorbed by the Mahrattas or the Sikhs. Before his departure from India, Sir John Shore visited Lucknow and endeavoured to impress on the Vizier the necessity of reforming the abuses of the administration; but whatever favourable impression he might have produced in the morning was effaced in the evening when the prince was surrounded by buffoons and parasites, or stupefied with opium. Six weeks after Sir John's return to Calcutta, he sank into the grave, exhausted by indulgence, and the succession of Vizier Ali, whom he had acknowledged as his son, was sanctioned by the Government of India.

Oude.

Death of the Nabob.

Information was received soon after that his birth was spurious and his character atrocious, and Sir John returned to Lucknow to ascertain the truth, when he obtained evidence that he was not even the illegitimate son of the late Vizier, but the offspring of a man of the lowest caste, and likewise that his profligacy had created a feeling of universal disgust. Sir John was convinced that he had been accessory to an act of injustice, and as the late ruler had left no legitimate issue, he conferred the throne on his brother, then residing at Benares. He was required on being installed, to sign a new treaty, by which the defence of the country was entrusted to a body of 10,000 British troops, for whom an annual subsidy of seventy-five lacs of rupees was allotted, that the native army of the state should not exceed 35,000 troops, that the fortress of Allahabad, the key of the north-west provinces, should be made over to the Company, and the Vizier eschew all foreign negotiations. During these arrangements, Sir John Shore was encamped with a small force near the town of Lucknow, and exposed to eminent danger from the violence of Vizier Ali, and the bands of desperate men in his pay, under the command of a reckless adventurer, who had 300 pieces of cannon, and openly talked of assassinating the Governor-General. The fearlessness which he exhibited in this perilous position, as

1797 Vizier Ali.

1798 Saadut Ali Nabob.

well as the resolution and justice of his proceedings, created general admiration in India, and the Court of Directors applauded the "great temper, ability and firmness he "had displayed on this occasion." The arrival of the Vizier with a large force from Benares rescued him from danger, and on his return to Calcutta he embarked for England, A.D. and was raised to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth. 1798

CHAPTER VIII.

SECTION I.

LORD WELLESLEY—LAST MYSORE WAR.

SIR JOHN SHORE was succeeded by Lord Mornington, subsequently created Marquis Wellesley, then in his thirty-eighth year, under whose vigorous rule the power of the Company was rendered paramount throughout India. At the Board of Control, where he had occupied a seat for four years, he had acquired a comprehensive knowledge of Indian affairs, and he moreover enjoyed the advantage of Mr. Pitt's personal friendship and the confidence of Mr. Dundas. He called at the Cape on his way to India, and had the good fortune to meet there Lord Macartney and Lord Hobart, both of whom had been governors of Madras, as well as Major Kirkpatrick, formerly resident at Sindia's court, and more recently at Hyderabad, and obtained from their communications the most important information regarding the views and the position of the various princes in India. 1798 Lord Wellesley.

At the commencement of this important epoch, it may be useful to glance at the state of India. After the humiliation of Tippoo Sultan, Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to establish a balance of power in the Deccan. But there never had been any real balance of power in India, and aggression and rapine had been the only principle of action among its princes. Wars were commenced and prosecuted without any semblance of justice, and restrained only by the power of resistance. Eighteen months after the departure of Lord Cornwallis, the battle State of India.

of Kurdla prostrated the power of the Nizam; the Peshwa was reduced to extremity by the encroachments of Sindia; and even the appearance of a balance of power in the Deccan was irretrievably lost. The Government of Calcutta had become an object of derision in all the native courts, and a prolongation of Sir John Shore's nerveless administration would have entailed very serious calamities. In the south, Tippoo was brooding over his misfortunes, and husbanding his resources to retrieve them. Though deprived of half his dominions, he was still able to maintain a powerful army in full efficiency. The Nizam had augmented the battalions under Raymond to 14,000, men and the French, who were animated by the national hatred of England which then prevailed in France, exercised a paramount authority in the state. Sindia was supreme at Poona and at Delhi, and enjoyed all the influence and authority still attached to the imperial throne. His territories in the Deccan extended to the Toombudra, and skirted the frontiers of the Nizam and the Peshwa, while in Hindostan it extended to the Sutlege, and abutted on the dominions of the Vizier and of the Company. The French battalions, raised and disciplined by De Boigne, had been augmented to 40,000 men, in no way inferior to the Company's sepoy army, with 450 guns, and fortresses, arsenals, foundries, depôts, and all the appliances of war. Lord Cornwallis had bequeathed to his successor a surplus revenue of a crore and eighty lacs of rupees a year, but it had dwindled into a deficit, and the Company's credit was so low that the treasury could not raise a loan under 12 per cent.

Lord Wellesley landed in Calcutta on the 17th May, and within three weeks was startled by the receipt of a proclamation issued by the governor of the Mauritius, stating that envoys had arrived from Tippoo Sultan with despatches for the Government in Paris, proposing an alliance offensive and defensive, and requesting the aid of a body of troops to assist him in expelling the English from India. Soon after it was announced that a French frigate had landed 150 men, including officers, from the Mauritius at Mangalore, on the Malabar coast, who had proceeded to Seringapatam and entered the Mysore service. Lord Wellesley determined to anticipate the hostile movements of Tippoo, and directed General Harris, the officiating governor of Madras, to assemble the Coast army for an immediate

A.D. 1798 The Mauritius proclamation.

march on Seringapatam, and called on the Nizam and the Peshwa, the signataries of the treaty of 1790, to furnish their quota of troops in accordance with its twelfth article.

The Presidency of Madras was thunderstruck with this venturous project. They had a morbid dread of the Mysore power, which had dictated peace under the walls of Madras, and annihilated Baillie's force, and ravaged the Carnatic; and they conjured up the memory of all the disasters which had for twenty years attended their wars with Hyder and Tippoo. The entire disposable force of the Presidency did not exceed 8,000 men, and they were destitute both of draft cattle and commissariat stores; and far, they said, from being in a condition to march on Tippoo's capital, the force was not equal to the defence of the Company's territories, if he should invade them. On the other hand, the Mysore ruler could muster 60,000 troops, a large portion of whom consisted of the celebrated Mysore horse; his infantry was in part disciplined by French officers; he possessed a hundred and forty-four field-pieces, a rocket brigade, a long train of elephants, an ample supply of draft and carriage cattle, and a splendid commissariat. In these circumstances Lord Wellesley found it impossible to strike an immediate blow, but he issued peremptory orders for the speedy equipment of the army, and he met the remonstrances addressed to him in his own imperious style, by threatening with his severest displeasure "those who presumed to "thwart him, and arrogated to themselves the power of "governing the empire committed to his charge."

Dismay at Madras. A.D. 1798

The state of affairs at Hyderabad demanded Lord Wellesley's earliest attention. The troops, to the number of 14,000, disciplined and commanded by French officers, presented a serious difficulty. They could not be taken into the field as a portion of the Nizam's contingent, without the risk of their joining the Sultan, with whose French officers they were in constant correspondence; while to leave them behind without an adequate force to watch them, was equally perilous. At this critical juncture, moreover, Lord Wellesley received a communication from Zeman Shah, announcing his intention to cross the Indus and enter Hindostan, and asking the British Government to assist him in driving the Mahrattas back into the Deccan. He was the grandson of Ahmed Shah Abdalee, who had astounded India by his

Lord Wellesley's embarrassments.

victory at Paniput forty years before; and the prospect of another Abdalee invasion created a universal feeling of excitement, if not of alarm. Thus beset with embarrassments in the north and in the south, Lord Wellesley resolved boldly to carry out his policy of alliances with the native princes on his own responsibility, without waiting for the sanction of the Court of Directors or the ministry. He found that the Company had not augmented their security by curtailing their influence, but had drifted into a position in which it was less perilous to advance than to stand still. He determined to break up that policy of isolation which had been erroneously considered the safeguard of British power, and within three months after he had taken the chair at the Council board, negotiations were opened throughout the continent, and every durbar was electrified by the revival of that energy which recalled the days of Hastings and Cornwallis.

A.D. 1798 Lord Wellesley found it necessary to dispose of the French force at Hyderabad before he took the field against Tippoo. The great minister of the Nizam, Meer Alum—otherwise called Musheer-ool-Moolk—on being released from Poona and resuming his office, was alarmed at the power which the French officers had obtained in the state, and was disgusted with their arrogance. He lost no time in proposing to Sir John Shore to substitute an English subsidiary force for the French battalions; but Sir John had not the nerve for so bold a proceeding. Lord Wellesley eagerly embraced the proposal, and made an offer to protect the state from all unjust claims in every quarter with a body of 6,000 troops, to be subsidised by the Nizam, on condition that the French corps should be dismissed, and the settlement of all disputes with the Mahrattas referred to the British Government. The Nizam manifested great reluctance to contract an alliance which he could never shake off, with so irresistible a power as the Company, but his minister persuaded him that it was better to repose under the protection of a power governed by the principles of honour, than to be perpetually exposed to the avarice of the Mahrattas and the ambition of Tippoo.

Negotiations at Hyderabad.

In the preceding year the Peshwa solicited the aid of a British force to protect him from the encroachments of Sindia, but it was declined by Sir John Shore. He then concluded an alliance with the Nizam, and ceded territory of the annual value of eight lacs of rupees as the price of his assistance.

Proposed alliance with the Peshwa.

Sindia revenged himself by releasing Nana Furnavese, whom he held in confinement, and inviting Tippoo to join him in an attack on the Nizam. These manœuvres led to a temporary reconciliation between Sindia and the Peshwa, and it was at this juncture that the proposal of a subsidiary alliance, which included the reference of all claims on the Nizam to the arbitrament of the British Government, was renewed. The Peshwa was too astute not to perceive that such an alliance involved the extinction of his political importance, and it is not to be wondered at that he, in common with the other princes of India, with whom independence had a charm, the value of which was enhanced by its risks, should have been indisposed to resign it. But the Peshwa assured the Resident that he would faithfully observe the conditions of the tripartite treaty in the approaching war with Tippoo, and a large Mahratta force was ostensibly ordered into the field.

To give effect to the treaty with the Nizam, troops were despatched to Hyderabad; but at the last moment he evinced an invincible reluctance to place himself in a state of helpless and irretrievable dependence on a superior power, and he fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Resident was obliged to assume a high tone and to assure the minister that his master would be held responsible for this breach of faith. He was at length convinced that there was more danger in endeavouring to evade the engagement than in fulfilling it, and a proclamation was issued dismissing the French officers, and releasing the sepoys from the obligation of obedience to them. Officers and men were thrown into a state of confusion and dismay by this unexpected order—Raymond was no longer at Hyderabad—but the British force was moved into a position which completely commanded the French encampment and placed their magazines at its mercy. In this helpless state, the officers sent to inform the Resident that they were ready to place themselves under his protection; but the men, to whom large arrears were due, rose in a body and placed the officers in confinement, and it was not without great difficulty they found refuge in the English camp. Captain Malcolm, a young and ambitious officer, then rising into notice, succeeded in quelling the excitement by the payment of their arrears; and before the evening this large body of disciplined troops, possessed of a powerful train of artillery and well-stored arsenals, was disarmed without the loss of a single life. This great

A.D. 1798

Extinction of the French force.

achievement, the first act of the new Government, filled the native princes, who were calculating on the decay of the Company's power, with amazement, while the ability with which it was planned, and the promptitude with which it was executed, diffused a spirit of confidence throughout the civil and military services which contributed in no small degree to the success of Lord Wellesley's plans.

A.D. 1798 On the 8th October, Lord Wellesley received information that Bonaparte had landed in Egypt, on his way to the East, and he reiterated his orders to press forward the organisation of the Madras army, which he promised to strengthen by the addition of 3,000 volunteer sepoys from Bengal, and with the 33rd Foot, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington. On hearing that the disbandment of the French force at Hyderabad had been completed, he addressed his first letter to Tippoo, upbraiding him with his embassy to the Mauritius, and the connection he had formed with the inveterate enemies of the British nation, "which "must subvert the foundations of friendship subsisting "between him and the Company." He proposed to depute Major Doveton to his court, to propound a plan calculated to remove all doubt and suspicion. To infuse vigour into those arrangements he resolved to proceed in person to Madras, where he landed on the last day of the year, and assumed the control of all political and military movements, leaving the local administration in the hands of the governor.

Communication with Tippoo.

1799 Tippoo's reply was altogether evasive. He asserted that the vessel which had gone to the Mauritius was sent by a mercantile tribe, and that "the "French, who were full of vice and deceit, had put about "sinister reports to ruffle the minds of the two Sircars." He declined the proposed conference with Major Doveton as superfluous, "inasmuch as his friendship and regard "for the English were perfectly apparent." At this very time, however, he was despatching one of his French officers to the Directory in Paris, to solicit 10,000 troops, to be employed at his expense in expelling the English; and he was likewise inviting Zeman Shah to join him in prosecuting a holy war against the infidels and polytheists. "Please God," he wrote, "the English shall become "food for the unrelenting sword of the pious warriors." Lord Wellesley addressed another letter to him on the 9th

Tippoo's replies.

January, demanding a reply in twenty-four hours, to which Tippoo, after a considerable delay, replied that he was going on a hunting excursion, as was his wont, and that Major Doveton might be despatched after him.

A.D. 1799

Every moment now became precious. The capital, Seringapatam, was the heart of Tippoo's power, his principal granary, and his only arsenal. Owing to the rise of the Cauvery around the island on which it was built, it was impregnable from June to November, and it was necessary to reduce it before the rains set in. After waiting in vain for a definite reply, Lord Wellesley ordered the army to take the field. It was the largest and the most complete in point of equipment and discipline which had ever yet assembled under the Company's colours. It consisted of 20,802 men, of whom 6,000 were Europeans, with a battering train of forty guns, and sixty-four field-pieces and howitzers, and 10,000 of the Nizam's cavalry, as well as the Hyderabad subsidiary force, which, under the command of Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm, had become a most efficient auxiliary. The entire army was commanded by General Harris, whose personal knowledge of the route was of great value. Tippoo, leaving his generals to watch the movements of the general at Madras, proceeded with the flower of his army to the Malabar Coast to oppose the Bombay force marching on his capital.

Progress of the army.

Tippoo on the Malabar Coast.

On the 5th March, Tippoo unexpectedly appeared before its advanced guard. General Stuart, the commandant, with the main body, was ten miles in the rear, and it fell to the gallant General Hartley—a name of high renown on that coast—to meet the shock. His little force, and more especially the battalions under Colonel Montresor, bore the assault of the whole of Tippoo's force for six hours with the most determined resolution, but as they were reduced to their last cartridge the general happily came up and decided the fate of the day. Tippoo retreated through the wood with the loss of 2,000 men, and six days after marched off in an opposite direction to resist the advance of General Harris, whose army stood on the table land of Bangalore on the 15th March. Contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers and his French commander, Tippoo fixed on Malavelly as the field for disputing the progress of the British army, and the battle ended in his complete discomfiture on the 27th March. He felt certain that General Harris would pursue the

Battle of Malavelly. 1799

northern route to the capital as Lord Cornwallis had done, and he had taken the precaution to lay it waste, not leaving a particle of food or forage. But the general moved down in an opposite direction, and crossed the Cauvery at the hitherto unknown ford of Sosilla, without any interruption. Nothing could exceed the rage and dismay of Tippoo when he discovered that all his plans were frustrated by this strategy, and he called a meeting of his officers, and asked their advice with tears in his eyes; they declared that they would make one last and desperate effort for the defence of the capital and the kingdom, and, if unsuccessful, die with him.

Seringapatam was invested on the 6th April, and the siege was pushed on with such vigour that Tippoo was induced to propose a conference. General Harris informed him that the only terms on which he was authorised to treat were the cession of half his territories, the payment of a war indemnity of two crores, and the delivery of four of his sons and four of his chief officers as hostages. These terms were rejected by the Sultan. On the 4th May the breach was reported practicable, and the troops were led to the storm by General Baird, a distinguished officer who had been immured in the dungeons of the fort for four years, in irons, by Hyder and Tippoo. He ascended the parapet at one in the afternoon, and exhibited his noble figure in the view of both forces, and then, drawing his sword, desired his men to follow him, and show themselves worthy the name of British soldiers. A small and select band of Tippoo's soldiers met the forlorn hope in the breach, the greater portion of whom on either side fell in the desperate struggle. The works were defended with great valour, more especially in the gateway where Tippoo had taken his station, and where he fell covered with wounds. The fortress was captured, and, as his remains were conveyed through the city, the inhabitants prostrated themselves before his bier, and accompanied it to the superb monument of Hyder, where he was interred with the imposing rites of Mahomedan burial, and the honours of a European military funeral.

The siege.

A.D. 1799

Thus fell the capital of Mysore, though garrisoned by 20,000 troops, and defended by 287 pieces of cannon, and abundantly supplied with provisions and military stores. It was the opinion of Lord Wellesley, and of the best military authorities in the camp, that, considering the strength of its fortifications, and the diffi-

Remarks.

culty of approaching it, a thousand French troops under an able commander might have rendered it impregnable. A.D. 1799
But throughout the siege, and indeed throughout the campaign, Tippoo had failed to exhibit either wisdom or energy. He rejected the advice of his most experienced officers, and listened only to the flatteries of youths and parasites, and the predictions of astrologers. During the line of march General Harris was so heavily encumbered with his ponderous siege train and endless impediments, that his progress was restricted to five miles a day, and it was a miracle that he was not constrained, like Lord Cornwallis, to turn back for want of provisions. There were numerous occasions on which an active and skilful enemy might have impeded his march till the rains set in, and rendered the campaign abortive; but all these opportunities were neglected by Tippoo in a spirit of infatuation. The success of the army was owing to a combination of boldness and courage, and good fortune. Tippoo was forty-six years of age at the time of his death. He possessed none of his father's abilities for peace or war. He was a compound of tyranny and caprice, of superstition and bigotry, and likewise an atrocious persecutor. In the opinion of his own subjects, Hyder was born to create an empire, and Tippoo to lose it.

Security of the Deccan.

For half a century the Deccan had been the scene of convulsions, and the great source of anxiety and expense to the Court of Directors, whose possessions, even in the intervals of peace, had always been insecure. Lord Wellesley terminated this state of jeopardy. Within a twelvemonth after he landed in Calcutta, he had extinguished the French force and influence at Hyderabad, and obtained the command of all the resources of the Nizam. He had subverted the kingdom of Mysore, and established the authority of the Company, without a rival, in the Deccan, on so solid a basis that it has never since been menaced. The capture of Seringapatam in less than a month resounded through the continent of India, and the extinction of one of its substantial powers struck terror into the hearts of its princes, and exalted the prestige of the Company's Government. These advantages were not, however, obtained without a violation of those solemn injunctions which the wisdom of Parliament, of the ministry, and of the India House had periodically repeated to restrain the growth of British power in India, and hence, in writing to Mr. Pitt, Lord Wellesley said, "I suppose

A.D. 1799 "you will either hang me, or magnificently honour me for my deeds. In either case, I shall be gratified, for an English gallows is better than an Indian throne." He was magnificently honoured—by the king with a step in the peerage, and by Parliament with its thanks.

New Mysore kingdom.

The issue of the war had placed the whole of the Mysore dominions at the disposal of the Governor-General, and he exercised the rights of conquest with great wisdom and moderation. He resolved to make over a portion of it to the family of its ancient and disinherited princes, though they had passed out of all recollection, and were living in abject poverty and humiliation. A child five years of age was drawn from a cottage and seated on a throne, with a revenue of fifty lacs of rupees a year. The kingdom was bestowed on him as a free gift, and it was emphatically declared to be personal and not dynastic. Every allusion to heirs and successors was therefore distinctly eliminated. Indeed, Lord Wellesley did not hesitate to affirm that the territories placed under the nominal sovereignty of the raja whom he created, constituted an integral portion of our own dominions, and they were treated in this light for more than sixty years.

The remaining territories.

The remaining territories were thus partitioned. Districts of the annual value of about thirty lacs, were allotted to the Company, but charged with the payment of about eight lacs a year to the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and territory valued at about twenty-four lacs was transferred to the Nizam. The Peshwa was not overlooked. He had not only violated his engagement by taking no part in the campaign, but, with his usual duplicity, had received envoys from Tippoo, and accepted a gratuity of thirteen lacs of rupees from him, and concerted a scheme for attacking the dominions of the Nizam while his army was employed in the siege of Seringapatam. But Lord Wellesley overlooked this duplicity, and offered him out of the spoils of Mysore districts yielding ten lacs of rupees, on condition of his excluding the French from his dominions, and admitting the mediation of the British Government in the questions still in dispute with the Nizam. The offer was rejected, and the reserved territory was divided between the Company and the Nizam.

Prize money.

The personal property captured at Seringapatam rather exceeded a crore of rupees and Lord Wellesley took on himself the responsibility of anticipating, as he said, the assent of the Crown, and the sanction

of the Directors, and directed the immediate distribution of it among the troops—the third instance in which prize money had been, not unwisely, divided in India, without waiting for dilatory orders from England. The Court of Directors manifested their sense of Lord Wellesley's merits by offering him ten lacs from the proceeds of the captured stores; but his high sense of honour induced him to decline it, upon which they settled an annuity of half a lac of rupees a year on him. To complete this narrative of the last Mysore war, it only remains to be stated that a daring adventurer, Dhondia Waug, collected together a body of Tippoo's disbanded cavalry and proceeded northward, plundering towns and villages. Success brought crowds to his standard, and the peace of the Deccan was seriously menaced. At length, Colonel Wellesley set out in pursuit of him with four regiments of cavalry, and after chasing him for four months without any relaxation, at length brought him to bay, and he was killed, and his army broken up. A.D. 1800

SECTION II.

LORD WELLESLEY—THE CARNATIC—OUDE—FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE—WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

THE refusal of the Peshwa to refer the settlement of his demands on the Nizam to the arbitration of the British Government, pointed out to his able minister the treatment he might expect from Mahratta rapacity, and he was anxious to secure his master against it. He proposed, therefore, to Lord Wellesley that the subsidiary force should be augmented and territory allotted for its support in lieu of the monthly payment then made in money. The proposition was, on a variety of considerations, welcome to the Governor-General, and the arrangement was speedily completed. The force was increased to eight battalions, and districts yielding sixty-three lacs a year were made over in perpetual sovereignty to the Company, under the stipulation that the British Government should guarantee all the remaining territories of the Nizam from every attack. The districts thus transferred consisted simply of those which had been assigned to him from the Mysore territory in the wars of 1792 and 1798. The transaction was mutually advantageous. It

Cession of territory by the Nizam.

1800

extended the Company's territories to the Kistna, and it relieved the Nizam of all further apprehension from his hereditary and insatiable enemies—and that without the alienation of any portion of his patrimonial kingdom. It is true, that by resigning the defence of his dominions and the royal prerogative of conducting negotiations with foreign princes, he lost his political independence; but, on the other hand, he secured the continuance of his royal dynasty. Every other throne in the Deccan has been swept away, while the descendant of the Tartar, Cheen Killich Khan, still continues to hold his regal court at Hyderabad. About the same time the raja of the little principality of Tanjore was mediatised. His debts to the Company were cancelled on the resignation of his territory, out of the revenues of which he received four lacs a year, and a fifth of its improved resources.

Tanjore mediatised.

A.D. 1800

By the treaty concluded with the nabob, Mahomed Ali, by Lord Cornwallis in 1792, certain districts were hypothecated for the support of the Company's troops who defended the country. That prince, who had been placed on the throne by the Madras Government in the days of Clive and Coote and had occupied it for fifty years, died in 1795. His son Oomdut-ool-omrah was surrounded, as his father had been, by a legion of rapacious Europeans, many of them in the public service, who fed his extravagance by advances at exorbitant interest, and, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, received assignments on the districts pledged for the support of the troops. The loans thus furnished the nabob with the means of paying his instalments to the Government of Madras with punctuality, but they served also to increase his embarrassments, though the crisis was for a time postponed. At the particular request of the Court of Directors, Lord Hobart, the governor of Madras, proposed to the nabob to transfer the districts to the Company in lieu of the pecuniary payment, and offered him as an inducement, to relinquish debts due to the Government, to the extent of a crore of rupees. But though the arrangement would have been highly beneficial to the nabob, it was not to the interest of his creditors, who held him at their mercy, to resign the lands which they subjected to rack rent, and the proposal was rejected. Lord Hobart then proposed to resort to force, on the ground that as the nabob had violated the treaty of 1792 by granting these assignments, it was no longer binding on the Company; but Sir John Shore peremptorily

State of the Carnatic.

1795

refused his concurrence. The correspondence thereupon became acrimonious, and the matter was referred to Leadenhall Street, and Lord Hobart was recalled. The Court, however, requested Lord Wellesley to call at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and make another effort to obtain the sanction of the nabob to the surrender of the districts, which were in a state of rapid decay, as a substitute for the payment he was bound to make; but, under the sinister influence of the harpies around him, the proposal was again spurned.

Lord Hobart's recall. A.D. 1798

The nabob was bound by treaty "not to enter into any "negotiation or political correspondence with any Euro-"pean or native power without the consent of "the Company." But on the capture of Seringapatam, it was discovered that both the late and the present nabob had been engaged in a clandestine correspondence with Tippoo by means of a cypher, which was found; and that they had made important communications to him, inimical to the interests of the Company. The fact of this intrigue was established by the clearest oral and documental evidence, to the satisfaction of the Governor-General, the governor of Madras, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control; and Lord Wellesley came to the conclusion that "they had not only violated "the treaty, but placed themselves in the position of "enemies of the Company, by endeavouring to establish a "unity of interests with their most inveterate foe." The obligations of the treaty were considered to be extinct, and it was resolved to deprive the family of the government of the Carnatic, reserving a suitable portion of the revenue for its support. But when the period for action arrived, the nabob was on his death-bed. On his death his reputed son, whom he had nominated his successor, was made acquainted with the evidence of his father's and his grandfather's treacherous correspondence with Tippoo, and informed that all claim on the consideration of Government was forfeited. His succession to the throne was no longer a matter of right, but of favour; and would be conceded only on condition of his making over the Carnatic to the Company, with the reservation of a suitable provision for the maintenance of his court and family. He refused to accept the title on these terms, and it was granted to a cousin, of whose legitimate birth there was no question. The nabob was mediatised, and the Carnatic became a British province. The territories obtained from

Clandestine correspondence. 1799

The nabob mediatised. 1801

Mysore and the Nizam, from the nabobs of the Carnatic and Tanjore, may be said to have created the Madras Presidency. Of the population, which, according to the latest census, amounted to twenty-two millions, eighteen are inhabiting the districts which Lord Wellesley annexed to it.

While Zeman Shah was advancing into Hindostan, Lord Wellesley despatched a native envoy to the king of Persia to induce him to threaten his hereditary dominions in Central Asia, and constrain him to retire from India. The agent urged that the Shah was a Soonee, and had grievously oppressed the Sheahs, the ruling sect in Persia, and that it would be an acceptable service to God and man to arrest the progress of so heterodox a prince. The pious monarch swallowed the bait, and instigated Mahomed Shah to invade the territories of his brother Zeman Shah, who was obliged to recross the Indus in haste. But Lord Wellesley farther deemed it advisable to send a more imposing embassy to the court of Ispahan "to establish British influence in Central Asia, "and prevent the periodical disquietude of an invasion by "Zeman Shah, with his horde of Turks and Tartars, "Usbecks and Afghans." The officer selected for this duty was Captain Malcolm, who was eminently qualified for it by his thorough knowledge of the oriental character and weaknesses, and his acquaintance with eastern languages, as well as his admirable tact and invariable good humour. The embassy was equipped in a style of magnificence intended to dazzle the oriental imagination, and to inspire the Persian court with a due sense of the power and majesty of the British empire in the east. The result, which had been in a great measure anticipated by the native agent, was not commensurate with its cost, which made the Court of Directors wince; but it secured the object of establishing British influence in Persia, at least for a time.

A.D. 1800 Embassy to Persia.

Lord Wellesley could not consider India safe while a French army held possession of Egypt; and he proposed to the ministry to send a force from India to support the army which he felt confident they would despatch, to co-operate with the Turkish Government in expelling it. After long delay the necessary orders were received from Downing Street, and an army consisting of 4,000 European troops and 5,000 volunteer sepoys, was sent up the Red Sea under General Baird,

1800 Expedition to the Red Sea.

with the animating remark of the Governor-General, "that "a more worthy sequel to the storm of Seringapatam "could not be presented to his genius and valour." The troops landed at Cosseir, in the Red Sea, and after traversing 120 miles of arid and pathless desert to the Nile, encamped, on the 27th August, on the shores of the Mediterranean; but the report of its approach, combined with the energy of the commander from England, had induced the French general to capitulate before General Baird's arrival. The history of India abounds with romantic achievements, but no incident can be more impressive than the appearance of sepoys from the banks of the Ganges, in the land of the Pharaohs, marching in the footsteps of Cæsar to encounter the veterans of his modern prototype. A.D. 1800

Within a month of the surrender of the French army in Egypt, the preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed by the former Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens. The Court of Directors immediately issued orders for their military establishments to be reduced, but Lord Wellesley, with great forethought, wisely suspended the execution of them. The treaty of Amiens was no sooner ratified than Bonaparte despatched a large armament to Pondicherry, which the treaty had restored, consisting of six vessels of war, a large military staff, and 1,400 European troops, under the command of M. Leger, who was designated, in his patent, "Captain-General of the French establishments east of "the Cape." It was to be followed by a second squadron of equal magnitude. For three years it had been the great aim of Lord Wellesley to eradicate French influence from India, and as he had now succeeded in excluding it from the Deccan, he could not regard the re-establishment of a powerful French settlement on the Coromandel coast without a feeling of anxiety. He felt that all the relations of Government with the native states would be at once deranged, and the seeds of a more arduous conflict than the last planted in the soil of India, ever fruitful in revolutions. The order to restore Pondicherry was reiterated from Downing Street, but, by an act of unexampled audacity, Lord Wellesley directed Lord Clive, the governor of Madras, to inform the French admiral on his arrival that he had resolved to postpone the restitution of the French settlements till he could communicate with the ministry in England. The French fleet returned to the Mauritius, and the recommencement of hostilities in Peace of Amiens. 1802

Europe saved India from the danger to which it would have been exposed if the continuance of peace had enabled Bonaparte to give full scope to his designs.

Demand on the nabob of Oude.

On the approach of Zeman Shah to the Indus, Lord Wellesley, well-knowing that the kingdom of Oude would be one of the early objects of spoliation, requested Sir James Craig, the commandant, to communicate his views on the defence of it. He replied that the rabble of troops maintained by the Vizier was not simply useless, but actually dangerous; and that if he were required to take the field against the Shah, he could not leave them behind with safety. The Court of Directors had stated that the British force, 13,000 in number, was too weak for the protection of the country, more especially since Sindia had planted an army of more than 30,000 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, on its frontier, watching an opportunity of springing on its opulent districts. The existing treaty had allotted a subsidy of seventy-six lacs of rupees a year for the payment of this force, and also provided for its augmentation, if necessary.

A.D. 1800

Lord Wellesley now pressed on the Vizier the absolute necessity of disbanding his disorderly soldiers, and devoting the fifty lacs of rupees thereby saved to the support of a larger British force.

Discussions with the nabob.

This reform would have placed the military power of the kingdom absolutely in the hands of the Company; to this the nabob manifested an invincible repugnance, and he proposed to abdicate in favour of his son, and to retire into private life with the treasure he had accumulated. Lord Wellesley stated that he was prepared to sanction his retirement provided he took up his residence in the British dominions, and vested the government of the kingdom permanently in the hands of the Company, but could not permit him to withdraw the treasure which belonged to the state. The nabob immediately withdrew his abdication, and Lord Wellesley expressed great indignation at his insincerity and duplicity, as he termed it, and charged him with having made a proposal, which was from the first illusory, in order to defeat the reform of his military establishment, which was imperatively required. Several regiments were ordered to march into the Oude territory, and the nabob was directed to provide for their maintenance. He remonstrated in earnest language, but Lord Wellesley returned his communication, which he said was deficient in the respect due to

the first British authority in India. The proceedings began to assume a very vexatious appearance. The Vizier continued to exhibit a spirit of passive resistance, and Lord Wellesley's correspondence was marked by increasing hauteur; but he was desirous, if possible, to avoid the appearance of a compulsory cession of the districts, and despatched his own brother and private secretary, Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, to overcome his repugnance; but the nabob continued inflexible, and persisted in asserting that it would inflict an indelible stain on his reputation throughout India to deprive one of its royal houses of such a dominion. A.D. 1801 Deputation of Mr. H. Wellesley.

The Resident at length brought the discussion to an issue by ordering the intendants of the districts selected for the support of the British force to transfer their collections and their allegiance to the Company. The nabob deemed it vain any longer to contend with such negotiators, and on the 12th November, signed a treaty which made over to the Company in perpetual sovereignty districts yielding one crore and thirty-five lacs of rupees. The security which this transfer of military power gave to the possessions of the nabob as well as of the Company will admit of no question. A British army, fully adequate to the defence of the country, was substituted for the wretched troops of the nabob, always an object of more dread to their masters than to their enemies; a valuable addition was made to the strength and resources of the Company, and a large population was rescued from oppression. But of all the transactions of Lord Wellesley's administration, this acquisition of territory by the process of compulsion has been the most censured. For any justification of it we must look to the position of the country. The throne of Oude was upheld by British bayonets alone, and the dynasty would have ceased to exist in a twelvemonth, if they had been withdrawn. Under the perpetual menace of a Mahratta invasion, it was necessary that a large and efficient force should be maintained there; but it was not possible for the Company to support such a force with only one-third of the revenues. The settlement of the provinces thus ceded by the Vizier was entrusted to a commission, consisting of members of the civil service, with Mr. Henry Wellesley as president, but he received no additional allowance. Their labours were completed within a year; the Court of Directors, however, lost no time in denouncing this appointment, though temporary, as "a virtual super- New treaty with the nabob. 1801

"cession of the just rights of the civil service," and drafted a despatch, peremptorily ordering Mr. Wellesley to be dismissed; but the President of the Board of Control drew his fatal pen across it. At the same time they expressed their cordial approbation of the terms of the treaty, which, among other merits, created thirty new appointments for their favourite service.

Lord Wellesley unhappily approved and maintained the erroneous policy initiated by Lord Cornwallis of excluding natives from any share in the government of the country, and working it exclusively by the European agency of the covenanted servants; but he determined to qualify them for their important duties by a suitable education. The civil service was originally a mercantile staff, and India continued to be treated more in the light of a factory than of an empire. The public servants rose, as they had done a century before, through the grades of writer, factor, and junior and senior merchants, and though they were required to perform the functions of magistrates and judges, of secretaries of state and ambassadors, it was deemed sufficient, if, before they left England, they were initiated into the mysteries of the counting-house, and understood book-keeping by double-entry. Of the laws and institutions, and even the language of the people, they were not required to know anything. Lord Wellesley was resolved to remove this glaring anomaly by founding a college in Calcutta, in which their European education should be completed, and they should acquire a knowledge of the laws, literature, and language of the natives.

The College of Fort William.

A.D. 1800

Like all Lord Wellesley's plans, the institution was projected upon a scale of imperial magnificence; and it was, moreover, erected without so much as consulting the Court of Directors, and they passed a peremptory order for its immediate abolition. Lord Wellesley was mortified beyond measure by this subversion of one of his most cherished schemes, which exposed him to the contempt of India, and he gave vent to his feelings in a passionate appeal to his friends in the ministry, and entreated them to save from extinction an institution he deemed invaluable —which indeed, he regarded with greater pride than the conquest of Mysore. On receiving the orders from Leadenhall Street, he passed a resolution abolishing the college, with the sullen remark that it was done "as an act of "necessary submission to the controlling authority of the "Court;" but in a second resolution he allowed eighteen

Its grandeur.

1802

months for the gradual abolition of it; and in the meantime the Court of Directors, under the pressure of the Board of Control, consented to the continuance of it on a reduced scale. and reduction.

At the renewal of the charter in 1793 the ministry endeavoured to silence the clamours of the merchants and manufacturers of England, as already stated, by obliging the Court of Directors to allot them 3,000 tons of freight annually, but this concession was found inadequate to the demand. The commerce of India was, in fact, bursting the bonds of the monopoly, which, however serviceable it might have been during the infancy of our connection with India, was altogether unsuited to an age of development. The trade of Calcutta had been rapidly expanding, and was forcing itself into the continental markets, in foreign vessels provided with cargoes by English capital. In 1798 the exports in vessels under the flags of America, of Portugal, and of Denmark, had exceeded a crore and a half of rupees. A.D. 1793 Private trade.

Shipbuilding had likewise made great progress in Calcutta during the previous ten years, and Lord Wellesley, finding 10,000 tons of India-built shipping in the port on his arrival, chartered a large portion of it for the use of the private merchants. In his letter to the Court of Directors on the subject, he said that it would be equally unjust and impolitic to extend any facilities to British merchants which would sacrifice or hazard the Company's rights and privileges, and that the commercial indulgence he had granted extended only to such articles of Indian produce and manufacture as were necessarily excluded from the Company's investments. Mr. Dundas, who entertained the same liberal views as Lord Wellesley, was anxious to authorise the Government of India to license India-built shipping "to bring home "that which the means and capital of the Company were "unable to embrace." But at the India House the dread of interlopers was still in undiminished vigour. Though the cream of the India trade was still to be assured to the Company, the Directors would not permit others to obtain the dregs. The proceedings of Lord Wellesley were emphatically reprobated; he lost caste irretrievably in Leadenhall Street, and the treatment he experienced from the Directors during the last three years of his Indian career was scarcely less rancorous than that which had embittered the life of Warren Hastings. Notwithstanding the remon- 1799 to 1801 Disapproval of Lord Wellesley's conduct.

strance of the minister, they passed a direct vote of censure on the commercial policy he had patronised.

A.D. 1802 As soon as the arrangements in Oude were completed, Lord Wellesley tendered his resignation, assigning to "his "Honourable Masters," as he termed them, no other reason than the full accomplishment of his plans for the security and prosperity of the empire. To the prime minister, however, he unburdened his mind, and informed him that the real cause of his retirement was the invariable hostility of the Court and the withdrawal of their confidence. They had peremptorily ordered the reduction of the military establishments, while he considered it, in the existing circumstances of the empire, essential to its security to maintain them in full vigour. They had cut down the stipends he considered advisable at the close of the war, and had selected for especial censure and retrenchment, the allowances granted by the Madras Government to his brother General Wellesley, to meet the cost of his important and expensive command in Mysore; this he considered "the most direct, "marked, and disgusting indignity which could be devised." They had abrogated the power vested in the Governor-General in Council by Parliament of enforcing his orders on the minor Presidencies, though they might happen to supersede the injunctions of the Court, and they had destroyed the authority of the Supreme Government over them by reversing this regulation. They had wantonly displaced officers of the highest ability and experience who enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor-General, and, contrary to law, had forced their own nominees into offices of emolument, for which, moreover, they were totally unfit.

Resignation of Lord Wellesley.

Lord Wellesley vigorously remonstrated against this practice. "If the Government of India," he said, "was thus "to be thwarted in every subordinate depart-"ment, deprived of all local influence, and "counteracted in every local detail by a remote authority "interfering in the nomination of every public servant, it "would be impossible to conduct the government under "such disgraceful chains." Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, was anxious to retain the services of Lord Wellesley, and placed his letter to the premier in the hands of the chairman at the India House. He did not disguise from him the great dissatisfaction and jealousy felt by the Company with regard to certain of Lord Wellesley's measures, and, more especially to the employment of

The causes of it.

Mr. Henry Wellesley. He had, in fact, wounded them on the two points on which they were most sensitive—their monopoly and their patronage. But Lord Castlereagh was assured that the Court were not unmindful of his eminent services, and would request him to postpone his departure to the 1st January 1804; little dreaming of the momentous consequences of this resolution. Before that date, the Mahratta power was prostrate, and the map of India reconstructed. A.D. 1802

SECTION III.

LORD WELLESLEY—MAHRATTA AFFAIRS—TREATY OF BASSEIN—WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

THE extinction of the kingdom of Mysore, and the complete control established over the Nizam, left the British Government without any antagonist but the Mahrattas, and the two rival powers now confronted each other. The offer of a subsidiary alliance to the Peshwa, made by Lord Wellesley in 1799, which would have introduced the thin end of the wedge of British ascendancy was rejected under the advice of Nana Furnavese. That great statesman closed his chequered career in March, 1800. For more than a quarter of a century he had been the mainspring of every movement in the Mahratta commonwealth, which he had regulated by the strength of his character and the wisdom of his measures, not less than by his humanity, veracity and honesty of purpose, virtues which were not usually found among his own countrymen. "With him," wrote the Resident at Poona, "departed all "the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." His death left Sindia without a competitor at Poona, where he exercised supreme authority, and it was not without delight that the Peshwa contemplated the rising power of his rival, Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Death of Nana Furnavese. 180

Mulhar Rao Holkar, who raised himself from the condition of a shepherd to the dignity of a prince, and established one of the five Mahratta powers, died at the age of seventy-six, after a brilliant career of forty years. His only son died soon after, leaving a widow, Aylah bye, and a son and daughter. The son died in 1766, and his mother, a woman of extraordinary talent and energy, resisted the importunity of the chieftains to adopt The Holkar family. 1766

a son and retire into private life. She resolved to undertake the government of the state herself, and selected Tokajee Holkar, one of the same tribe, though not of her kindred, to command the army. Through his singular moderation and the commanding genius of the bye, this perilous arrangement, which placed the military power in the hands of a distinguished soldier, while the civil government was administered by a female, was perpetuated without jealousy for thirty years. She sat daily in durbar and gave audiences without a veil, and dispensed justice in person. She laid herself out to promote the welfare of the country by the encouragement of trade and agriculture, and raised Indore from the obscurity of a village to the rank of a capital. She acquired the respect of foreign princes by the weight and dignity of her character, and in an age of universal violence was enabled to maintain the security of her dominions. She was the purest and most exemplary of rulers, and she added one more name to the roll of those illustrious females who have adorned the native history of India by their talents and virtues.

A.D. 1795 She died in 1795, and Tokajee two years later, and the reign of anarchy began, and continued without abatement, for twenty years. Mulhar Rao, the son of Tokajee, assumed the command of the army and the government of the state, but he was attacked and killed by Sindia, who was thus enabled to reduce the rival house of Holkar to a state of complete subordination. Jeswunt Rao, the illegitimate son of Tokajee, fled from the field to Nagpore, but the raja, anxious to conciliate Sindia, placed him in confinement, but he contrived at length to make his escape, and took refuge at Dhar, which, under the same hostile influence, he was obliged to quit, with seven mounted followers and about a hundred and twenty ragged half-armed infantry. He determined now to trust his fortunes to his sword, and giving himself out as the champion of his nephew, the young son of his brother Mulhar, called upon all the adherents of the house of Holkar to rally round him and resist the encroachments of Sindia; and the freebooters who swarmed in Central India flocked to his standard.

Early movements of Jeswunt Rao.

Jeswunt Rao was soon after joined by Ameer Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, about twenty-five years of age, together with a large body of free lances, and for eighteen months they spread desolation through the districts lying on the Nerbudda, but were at length

Ameer Khan.

obliged to separate when the field of plunder was exhausted. Ameer Khan proceeded eastward to the opulent town of Saugor, where he subjected the inhabitants to every species of outrage, and acquired immense booty. Nothing gives us a clearer view of the anarchy and wretchedness of Hindostan at this period than the ease with which Jeswunt Rao was able, in the space of two years, to collect under his standard, by the hope of plunder, a force of 70,000 Pindarees and Bheels, Afghans and Mahrattas. With this force Holkar entered Malwa, and the country was half ruined before Sindia could come to its rescue from Poona. To expel Holkar he despatched two bodies of his troops, one of which, though commanded by Europeans, was obliged to lay down its arms, and the other was attacked with such vigour that of its eleven European officers seven fell in action and three were wounded. The city of Oojein, Sindia's capital, was saved from indiscriminate plunder, by submitting to a contribution of fifteen lacs. At Poona, Bajee Rao, relieved from the presence of Sindia, subjected his feudatories to extortion and his people to oppression, which led to the appearance of numerous bodies of brigands, one of which, Wittojee, the brother of Jeswunt Rao, was constrained to join. He was captured and sentenced to be trampled to death by an infuriated elephant, while Bajee Rao sat in the balcony of the palace to enjoy the yells of the expiring youth. Jeswunt vowed sharp vengeance, and it was not long before he found an opportunity of executing it.

A.D. 1800

A.D. 1801

Sindia, having ordered Shirjee Rao, his father-in-law, and the greatest miscreant of Central India, to join his camp, proceeded in pursuit of Holkar, who was totally defeated on the 14th October. The wretch entered the capital, Indore, and gave it up to plunder. The noblest edifices in the city, which had been erected and adorned by Aylah bye, were reduced to ashes. Those who were possessed of property were tortured to reveal it, and the wells were choked up with the bodies of females who destroyed themselves to escape dishonour. Holkar was not long in recovering the blow. His daring spirit was exactly suited to the temper of the age, and his standard was speedily crowded with recruits, with whom he proceeded to the north, plundering every town and village in his progress, and to the horror of his lawless, but superstitious soldiery, not sparing even the shrines of the gods. He then laid waste the province of Candesh, and

1801

Sindia defeats Holkar.

moved down on Poona, and the Peshwa began to tremble for his safety. Lord Wellesley had not ceased to renew the offer of the subsidiary alliance when there appeared any prospect of success. The negotiation fluctuated with the Peshwa's hopes and fears, and when Sindia, who had earnestly dissuaded him from accepting it, sent ten battalions of infantry and a large body of cavalry to protect him from the assault of Holkar, it came to an abrupt termination.

Holkar continued to advance to Poona, and the dismayed Peshwa made him the most abject offers, but they were haughtily rejected. The combined army of Sindia and the Peshwa encamped in the vicinity of the capital, consisted of 84,000 horse and foot. Sindia's force comprised ten battalions under the command of Col. Dawes, while Holkar had fourteen battalions, disciplined and commanded by European officers. The battle of Poona, which was long and obstinately contested, ended in the complete victory of Holkar, who captured the whole of the baggage, stores and encampment of the allies. The Peshwa, who had kept out of the reach of fire, fled precipitately to the sea coast, where he obtained the accommodation of a British vessel from the governor of Bombay and embarked for Bassein, which he reached on the 6th December. Holkar entered the capital and placed the Peshwa's illegitimate brother, Amrut Rao, on the throne, after exacting the promise of an immediate payment of two crores, and territory yielding another crore, as well as the command of the army and the control of the state. After two months of singular moderation he gave up the capital to pillage. Bajee Rao, now became eager for the alliance as affording him the only chance of regaining his crown, and on the last day of December, he signed the memorable treaty of Bassein, by which he agreed to entertain a body of 6,000 English troops, and a suitable complement of artillery, and to assign districts yielding twenty-six lacs for their support, to entertain no Europeans in his service, and to refer all his claims upon the Nizam and the Gaikwar to the arbitration of the Governor-General. The treaty likewise guaranteed the southern jageerdars in the enjoyment of their ancient rights.

Battle of Poona.

A.D. 1802

The treaty of Bassein.

1802

The treaty of Bassein, viewed in connection with its consequences, forms one of the most important events in the history of British India. Although the authority of the Peshwa had long ceased to

Remarks on the treaty.

possess its former importance in the Mahratta counsels, he was still regarded by the other chiefs as the centre of their national unity, and the recognised chief of the Mahratta commonwealth, and the extinction of his independence essentially weakened its power. It has been the subject of warm controversy, but the sound judgment of the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley, based upon his extensive Indian experience, may be considered conclusive. "The treaty of Bassein," he asserted, "and the measures adopted in consequence of it, afforded "the best prospect of preserving the peace of India, and "to have adopted any other measure would have rendered "war with Holkar nearly certain, and war with the whole "Mahratta nation more than probable." This opinion has been fully confirmed by posterity. War with the Mahratta powers was inevitable: the treaty may have hastened it, but it must not be forgotten that it likewise deprived them of all the resources of the Peshwa's Government.

The establishment of the Company's paramount authority at the Mahratta capital gave great umbrage to Sindia and to the raja of Nagpore. The former found all his ambitious projects in the Deccan defeated, and exclaimed: "The treaty takes the "turban from my head." The Nagpore raja was at once deprived of the hopes he and his ancestors had cherished of some day obtaining the office of Peshwa. The two chiefs immediately entered into a confederacy to obstruct the objects of the treaty, and Bajee Rao himself had no sooner signed it, than he despatched an envoy to solicit their aid to frustrate it. Holkar, whose plans were thwarted by this masterly stroke of policy, agreed to join the coalition on condition that the domains of his family should be restored to him; but, although he was reinstated in them, he no sooner perceived Sindia involved in hostilities with the British Government, than he let loose his own famishing hordes on his possessions in Malwa. A.D. 1803

Umbrage of Sindia and the Nagpore raja.

Lord Wellesley, who had early information of this coalition, informed Sindia and the raja of Nagpore that he was desirous of maintaining friendly relations with them unimpaired, but would resist to the full extent of his power any attempt to interfere with the treaty. To be prepared for every contingency, he ordered the whole of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and 6,000 of the Nizam's own infantry, and 9,000 horse, under Colonel Stephenson, up to the frontier. General

Lord Wellesley's military movements.

Wellesley likewise marched up 600 miles in the same direction with the Mysore contingent, 8,000 infantry, 1,700 cavalry, and 2,000 of the celebrated Mysore horse, under an able native commander. The southern jageerdars were induced by the influence which General Wellesley had obtained over them, to join him with 10,000 troops. Amrut Rao, whom Holkar had left in command at Poona, had declared his determination to reduce it to ashes when he could no longer hold it; but the city was saved by the energy of General Wellesley, who made a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours to rescue it. Soon after
A.D. 1803 Bajee Rao quitted Bassein, and on the 13th May, the day which had been selected by his astrologers, entered Poona, accompanied by British bayonets, and ascended the throne under a British salute.

The designs of Sindia became daily more evident. He marched down with a large force from Oojein to form a junction with the raja of Nagpore, who moved up to meet him with a large force on the 17th April. Both princes informed the Resident that it was their intention to proceed to Poona "to adjust the "government of the Peshwa." He assured them that any such movement would be considered an act of hostility, and involve the most serious consequences. Various communications were intercepted in different directions, which placed their warlike designs beyond doubt; and, on the 23rd May, therefore, Colonel Close, the Resident at Sindia's court, was instructed to demand a categorical explanation of his intentions, when he replied that, with regard to the negotiations on foot, he could give no decisive answer till he had seen the raja of Nagpore, then encamped about forty miles distant, "when you shall be informed whether "there is to be war or peace." Lord Wellesley considered this announcement not merely an insult to the British Government, but an unequivocal menace of hostility on the part of both princes, who had planted their armies on the frontiers of the two allies, the Nizam and the Peshwa, whom the Government were bound to defend. The complication of affairs at this juncture was increased by the arrival of the French armament, already mentioned, at Pondicherry, which Sindia announced to all the Mahratta princes as the reinforcement of an ally. The confederates continued to prolong the discussions for two months, while they were employed in pressing Holkar to join them. During this period of suspense, the perfidious Peshwa con-

Development of Sindia's designs.

tinued to importune Sindia to avoid any concession, but advance at once to Poona "to settle affairs." He obstructed the progress of supplies, and lost no opportunity of embarrassing the Government.

Time was now invaluable, but no reply could be received to any reference to Calcutta under six weeks, and Lord Wellesley, therefore, ventured to take upon himself the responsibility, for which he was afterwards captiously censured, of vesting full powers, civil, military, and diplomatic, in reference to the conduct of Mahratta affairs in the Deccan, in General Wellesley, and at the same time furnished him with a clear exposition of his views of policy. The general received this commission on the 18th July, and lost no time in calling on the allied chiefs to demonstrate the sincerity of the pacific declarations they were making, by withdrawing their forces from a position, not necessary for the security of their own territories, but menacing equally to the Nizam, the Company, and the Peshwa. A week of frivolous and fruitless discussion then ensued, during which Sindia had the simplicity to say that they were not prepared to determine on any movement, as the negotiation with Holkar was not yet complete. Wearied with these studied delays, General Wellesley gave them twenty-four hours for their ultimatum, when they proposed that the British armies should retire to their cantonments at Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam, while their forces fell back forty miles to Boorhanpore. To this General Wellesley replied: "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and "honourable to all parties: you have chosen war, and are "answerable for all consequences." On the 3rd August the British Resident withdrew from Sindia's camp, and the Mahratta war of 1803 commenced.

Delegation of powers to General Wellesley.

A.D. 1803

SECTION IV.

LORD WELLESLEY—WAR WITH SINDIA AND NAGPORE.

LORD WELLESLEY, finding a war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore inevitable, determined to strike a decisive blow at their power, simultaneously, in every quarter of India. In the grand combinations of this campaign he was his own war minister, and never under

Preparations for war.

the Company's rule had the resources of Government been drawn forth upon a scale of such magnitude and applied with such promptitude and effect. In the Deccan the advanced force under General Wellesley of about 9,000 men, and of Colonel Stephenson, consisting of about 8,000, was appointed to operate against the main armies of the confederates. In the north 10,500 troops were assembled under General Lake, to attack Sindia's possessions in Hindostan, which were defended by his French battalions; and a force of 3,500 was allotted for the invasion of Bundlecund. On the western coast an army of 7,300 men was organised to dispossess Sindia of his possessions in Guzerat, while 5,200 men were to occupy the province of Cuttack, belonging to the raja of Nagpore, on the eastern coast. The whole force of about 13,500 men was animated by that traditionary spirit of enterprise and enthusiasm which had created the British empire in India, and which, on this occasion, was heightened by unbounded confidence in the statesman at the head of the Government. The armies of the confederates were computed at 100,000, of whom one half consisted of cavalry, with a superb train of artillery of many hundred pieces.

As soon as the Resident had quitted Sindia's camp, General Wellesley opened the campaign by the capture of the strong fortress of Ahmednugur, Sindia's great arsenal and depôt in the Deccan, and by taking possession of all his districts south of the Godavery. Meanwhile the confederates spent three weeks in marching and countermarching, apparently without any definite object. General Wellesley, misled by his guides, was unexpectedly brought, after a march of twenty-six miles, to a position from which he could behold Sindia's encampment, consisting of 50,000 men and 100 guns, stretched out before him, and he resolved to bring on an immediate action without waiting for the junction of Colonel Stephenson's force. The handful of British troops which had to encounter this formidable array at Assye, did not exceed 4,500. The Mahratta infantry was entrenched behind formidable batteries, which the General had particularly enjoined the officer commanding the advance not to assail in front, but he charged up to the muzzle of the guns; the carnage was appalling, but the indomitable courage and energy of the troops, more especially the 74th, bore down all opposition, and Sindia's splendid infantry, standing by the guns to

A.D. 1803 — Capture of Ahmednugur.

Battle of Assye.

the last, was at length overpowered and dispersed. The victory was the most complete which had ever crowned the Company's arms in India, but it was dearly purchased by the loss of one-third of its numbers. Sindia lost 12,000 men and all his guns, ammunition, and camp equipage. His army was a complete wreck, and he retreated with a small body of horse to the Taptee. Colonel Stephenson was sent in pursuit of him, and captured the flourishing town of Boorhanpore and the strong fortress of Aseergurh. Meanwhile all Sindia's districts in Guzerat were occupied, and nothing remained to him but his possessions in Hindostan. A.D. 1803

This valuable territory had been enlarged and consolidated by the indefatigable exertions of the late Mahdajee Sindia, and chiefly through the army raised and disciplined by the Count de Boigne, on whose retirement to France the command devolved on General Perron. Dowlut Rao, since his accession to his uncle's throne in 1792, had continued to reside at Poona that he might maintain a paramount influence in the Mahratta councils, and the administration of these provinces in the north devolved on the general, who conducted it with great ability and moderation. He had succeeded in extending the control of Sindia over the Rajpoots, and was rapidly stretching it over the Sikhs up to the banks of the Sutlej. His advanced posts approached the Indus in one direction and Allahabad in the other, and the territory under his control yielded a revenue of two crores of rupees. His army consisted of 28,000 foot, not inferior in any respect to the Company's sepoy army, with 5,000 cavalry and 140 guns. The jeopardy to which the interests of the Company were continually exposed by the presence of this powerful force, entirely under French influence, along the whole of the north-west frontier was but too apparent, and Lord Wellesley considered it an object of the highest importance to extinguish it. Happily for the accomplishment of his wishes Sindia's Mahratta officers entertained such jealousy of the extraordinary power granted to a foreigner that he considered his position no longer tenable, and was contemplating his retirement when the war broke out. Sindia's possessions in Hindostan.

General Lake had been entrusted with the same plenary powers in Hindostan which had been confided to General Wellesley in the Deccan. He opened the campaign by advancing against General Perron's Capture of Allygurh.

encampment, but he withdrew his army 15,000 strong without firing a shot, upon which General Lake laid siege to Allygurh, the great arsenal and depôt of Sindia in Hindostan. It had been fortified with extraordinary skill by
A.D. French officers, but it was captured by a *coup de main*,
1803 through the irresistible gallantry of the 76th Highlanders. The number of guns captured amounted to 281. Shortly after, Perron having learnt that his enemies at Sindia's court had procured an order for his dismissal, obtained permission to pass through the British camp on his way to Lucknow, and was received with the distinction due to his rank and his talents. General Lake then advanced from Allygurh towards Delhi, and within sight of its minarets encountered the French force under General Bourquin, 19,000 in number. The battle was severely contested, but the British infantry, led again by the 76th Highlanders, and by the Commander-in-Chief in person, advanced calmly amidst a storm of grape and chain shot, and charged with the bayonet; the ranks of the enemy reeled, and then broke up in confusion.

Three days after the engagement, General Bourquin and three of his officers delivered up their swords to
The troops enter Delhi. General Lake. The city of Delhi was immediately evacuated by Sindia's troops, and the British standard was hoisted upon its battlements. The emperor, though a prisoner and sightless, was still considered the fountain of honour by Hindoos and Mahomedans, and a patent of nobility under the imperial seal was as highly prized in the remotest provinces of the Deccan as it had been in the days of Aurungzebe. "General
1803 "Lake," in the magniloquent proclamation of Lord
15th Wellesley, "was ushered into the royal presence, and
Sept. "found the unfortunate and venerable emperor, oppressed "by the accumulated calamities of old age and degraded "authority, extreme poverty and loss of sight, seated "under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal "state, with every external appearance of the misery of "his condition." Lord Wellesley made a noble provision for his support, and then formed the judicious resolution of removing him and the royal family from the dangerous associations of Delhi, and proposed Monghyr for his future residence; but the emperor clung with such tenacity to the spot which had been for six centuries the capital of Mahomedan power that the Governor-General was reluctantly constrained to relinquish the design. For this

generous but imprudent act the Government was required to pay a fearful penalty half a century later. A.D. 1803

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony in command at Delhi, General Lake marched down to Agra, which capitulated after a protracted siege, when the treasure found in it, about twenty-eight lacs of rupees, was promptly and prudently distributed among the officers and men, "in anticipation of the approval of the home authorities." On the outbreak of the war Sindia had sent fifteen of his French battalions across the Nerbudda to protect his possessions in Hindostan. They were considered the flower of his army, and were usually called the "Deccan Invincibles," and nobly did they sustain the reputation they had gained. Including the fugitives from Delhi they formed a body of 13,000 horse and foot, with 72 pieces of cannon, under native commanders. General Lake came up with their encampment at Laswaree on the 1st November, and they fought as native soldiers had never fought before when they had no European officers to animate them. They were at length overpowered, but not till one-half of their number, as reported, lay on the field killed or wounded. The general himself conducted all the movements, and impetuously led the charge in person, more to the credit of his gallantry than of his military talent. Though a dashing soldier and adored by his men, he was a very indifferent general, but the flagrant errors of the day were covered—as they have since been on more than one occasion—by the chivalrous valour of the men at the sacrifice of their lives. Battle of Laswaree.

Alarmed by the reverses he had sustained, Sindia made overtures which resulted in an armistice, and General Wellesley was now enabled to turn his whole attention to the raja of Nagpore, whom he had been closely following. On the 28th November he came up with his whole army at Argaum, and obtained a complete victory. The fortress of Gawilgurh surrendered in the middle of December, and General Wellesley prepared to march upon Nagpore, which must have at once capitulated. The province of Cuttack had also been occupied by a British army without a single casualty. The raja, reduced to extremities by these rapid reverses, and trembling for his capital and his throne, hastened to sue for peace, and the treaty of Deoganm was negotiated and concluded in two days by Mr. Mount-Stuart Elphinstone on the 18th December. Cuttack was Battle of Argaum. Submission of Nagpore. 1803

A.D. 1803

annexed to the Company's territories, and the uninterrupted communication between Calcutta and Madras, which the Court of Directors had coveted for many years, and for which they were at one time prepared to pay a large sum, was established. The opulent province of Berar was made over to our ally the Nizam, though during the campaign his officers had behaved with more than ordinary perfidy. The raja likewise engaged to refer all his differences with the Nizam and the Peshwa to the arbitrament of the British Government. These cessions of territory, which comprised some of his most valuable districts, reduced him to the position of a secondary power in India.

Submission of Sindia.

Sindia could no longer hesitate to accept the severe terms dictated by the Governor-General. His French battalions, the bulwark of his power, were annihilated. His territories in the Deccan, in Guzerat and in Hindostan, the rich patrimony bequeathed to him by his uncle, had been wrested from him, and nothing lay before him but the extinction of his power. He yielded to necessity within a fortnight after the raja of Nagpore had agreed to the treaty of Deogaum, and signed the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaum. He was obliged to cede all his territories lying between the Ganges and the Dooab, and those north of the principalities of Jeypore and Joudpore, the fortress and territory of Ahmednugur in the Deccan, and Broach and its dependencies in Guzerat. He relinquished all claims on the Peshwa, the Nizam, and the Gaikwar, and acknowledged the independence of the rajas and feudatories in Hindostan with whom Lord Wellesley had recently concluded treaties. The war which produced these great results was scarcely of five months duration, and it was concluded before it was known in Leadenhall Street that it had commenced. Ahmednugur with its territory was made over to the Peshwa, and the wealthy districts in Hindostan were united with those which had been acquired from the Vizier of Oude, to form a separate province now known as the North West Presidency. Having thus reduced the Mahratta power in Hindostan, Lord Wellesley was anxious to prevent the renewal of it by establishing a barrier between the possessions of Sindia, north of the Nerbudda and those of the Company, and General Lake was instructed to conclude treaties of alliance with the Jaut prince of Bhurtpore, and the princes of Jeypore, Joudpore, Machery, Boondee and Gohud, who were thereby absolved

Treaties of alliance in the north.

from all allegiance to the Mahratta powers, and relieved from all dread of their encroachments. A.D. 1803

The genius of Lord Wellesley had thus, in the course of five years, reorganized the political condition of India, and placed his masters on the pinnacle of power. The Company had now become the absolute sovereigns of the most valuable portion of the continent, the protector of the states not included within its possessions, and the umpire in the disputes of all. Its authority was established on a more solid basis than that of Akbar or Aurungzebe. The reputation and splendour of Lord Wellesley's administration had now reached its culmination, and the disasters which clouded the remainder of his Indian career were owing entirely to the blunders of the Commander-in-Chief, though his Government was necessarily saddled with the obloquy of them.

SECTION V

LORD WELLESLEY—WAR WITH HOLKAR—COLONEL MONSON'S RETREAT.

DURING the war with Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, Holkar, instead of uniting his forces with theirs, sought more profitable employment for them in predatory excursions into Hindostan. On the conclusion of the peace he marched upon the wealthy town of Muhesur, where he was reported to have obtained a crore of rupees, by which he was enabled to take into his pay the soldiers whom Sindia and the raja of Nagpore had disbanded. His army was thus augmented to 60,000 horse, and 15,000 foot, a force far exceeding his requirements or his resources, and which could only be maintained by plunder. He was assured by the Governor-General and General Wellesley that, as long as he abstained from invading the dominions of the Company or of their allies, no attempt should be made to interfere with his movements. But repose was incompatible with his condition; his fortune was in his saddle, and his reckless disposition led him to throw himself on the British buckler. In March he demanded of General Wellesley the cession of certain districts in the Deccan which he affirmed had once belonged to his family, and he sent to General Lake to demand the *chout* as the inalienable right of the Mahrattas, and threatened "if his "demands were not complied with, that countries many 1804

Holkar's proceedings.

A.D. 1804 "hundred miles in extent should be plundered, and calami-ties fall on many hundred thousand human beings by a "continued war, in which his armies would overwhelm "them like waves of the sea." These insolent menaces were followed up an inroad into the territories of the British ally, the raja of Jeypore.

War with Holkar.

Lord Wellesley felt that there could be no prosperity or even peace in Central India while this large predatory horde continued to roam through it under this rampant chief, and that an army of observation would be found to be far more costly than an army of action; and on the 16th April directed Generals Wellesley and Lake to take the field against him. General Lake moved into the Jeypore territory, and chased him out of it. General Wellesley then in the Deccan urged him to continue the pursuit without pause, and assured him that if it was prosecuted with vigour, the war would be over in a fortnight. By an act of incomprehensive fatuity, General Lake rejected this advice, withdrew his army into cantonments, and sent Colonel Monson with a weak force to follow Holkar. Lord Wellesley strenuously urged him either to recall the brigade or to strengthen it, but General Lake did neither. Colonel Monson was as remarkable for his personal bravery as for his professional incompetence. With a detachment feeble in numbers, and not supported by a single European soldier, with only about 2,500 worthless irregular horse, he advanced into the heart of Holkar's territory to encounter a force ten times its number, and commanded by the most daring soldier of the day; and he neglected to make any provision for supplies, or for crossing the various streams which would become unfordable in two or three weeks.

Colonel Monson's retreat.

1804 On the 7th July Colonel Monson received the alarming intelligence that Holkar had called up his whole force and was marching upon him, and that Colonel Murray, whom General Wellesley had ordered up from Guzerat to support him, had fallen back. The provisions in his camp were only equal to two days' consumption, and he deemed it necessary to make an immediate retreat. Whenever the troops stood at bay, Holkar, notwithstanding the immense superiority of his force, sustained a repulse. At Rampoora Colonel Monson was reinforced by two battalions sent to his aid by General Lake, and was well supplied with provisions; but he unaccountably lingered there twenty-four days,

during which time Holkar never once ventured to attack him. He then recommenced his retreat, which soon became a disgraceful rout, and the last sepoy straggled into Agra fifty days after he had begun to retire. Twenty-three years before Colonel Camac had, with equal indiscretion, marched into the heart of Sindia's territories, and found himself in the same predicament as Colonel Monson; yet, by the unfailing expedient of a bold and aggressive movement, Sindia was completely defeated, and lost guns, ammunition, encampment, and reputation. But for the imbecility of the commander, the same triumph would have crowned the valour of the troops under Colonel Monson, and Lord Wellesley would not have had to lament the loss of five battalions of infantry and six companies of artillery. This was the most signal disgrace the Company's arms had sustained since the destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment by Hyder, and it was commemorated in ribald songs in the bazaars throughout the continent. The raja of Bhurtpore, who was the first to seek the alliance of the Government in the flood-tide of success in 1803, was the first to desert them when the tide appeared to be ebbing. A.D. 1804

Flushed with success, Holkar advanced to Muttra with an army estimated at 90,000 men, and General Lake, with his usual energy, rapidly assembled his regiments to meet this unexpected inroad. Meanwhile, Holkar besieges Delhi. Holkar planned the daring project of seizing the city of Delhi and obtaining possession of the person of the emperor, and of the influence still attached to his name. Leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of General Lake, he suddenly appeared before the gates of the city on the 7th October. It was ten miles in circumference, 1804 defended only by dilapidated walls and ruined ramparts, and filled with a mixed and unruly population. The garrison was too weak to admit of reliefs, and provisions were served to the troops on the battlements; but Colonel Ochterlony, with a spirit worthy of Clive, defended it for nine days against the utmost efforts of the enemy, 20,000 strong, with 100 pieces of artillery. Holkar at length drew off his force in despair, and sending back his infantry and guns into the territory of his new ally, the raja of Bhurtpore, set out with his cavalry to lay waste the Company's districts in the Doab.

General Lake left his infantry under General Fraser, to

watch Holkar's battalions, and started in pursuit of him with six regiments of cavalry, European and native, and his horse artillery, giving him no rest night or day. Holkar generally contrived to keep twenty or thirty miles ahead of him, ravaging the defenceless villages as he swept along; but, after a forced march of fifty miles in twenty-four hours, the general succeeded in overtaking him at dawn, at Futtygurh, on the 17th November. The enemy's horses were at picket, and the men asleep beside them in apparent security, when several rounds of grape announced the arrival of their pursuers. Holkar sprang on his horse, and galloped off with a few troopers, leaving the rest of the troops to shift for themselves, and they were dispersed and cut up in all directions. He hastened back to rejoin his infantry, but found on recrossing the Jumna, that they had suffered an irreparable defeat. General Frazer with a force of 6,000 men had attacked his army consisting of fourteen battalions of foot, a large body of horse and 160 guns, and obtained a decisive victory, capturing more than half his artillery; but the victory was dearly purchased by the loss of the general. During the engagement, a destructive fire was opened on the British force from the fortress of Deeg, belonging to the raja of Bhurtpore, which was immediately invested and captured.

Pursuit of Holkar.

A.D. 1804

Battle of Deeg.

The fortunes of Holkar were now at the lowest ebb. General Jones, who had succeeded the incompetent Colonel Murray, had captured all his forts in Malwa, and marched up, unmolested, to General Lake's encampment. The large host with which he had proudly appeared on the banks of the Jumna only four months before had disappeared, and the annihilation of his power appeared inevitable, when every advantage was thrown away by the fatal resolution of General Lake to invest Bhurtpore. The town was eight miles in circumference, surrounded by the invulnerable bulwark of a mud wall of great height and thickness, protected by numerous bastions and by a broad and deep ditch, filled with water, and defended by 8,000 of the raja's troops and the remnant of Holkar's infantry. General Lake turned a deaf ear to all advice, and without a sufficient siege train, or an engineer officer of any experience, without even making a reconnaissance, commenced the siege with breathless impetuosity. Four consecutive attacks were made upon it during fifteen weeks, which entailed the unprecedented

Siege of Bhurtpore.

loss of 3,200 in killed and wounded, of whom 103 were officers. The siege was abandoned on the 21st April; but the raja, who had severely felt the loss of all the revenues of his districts and the exactions of Holkar, sought an accommodation with the Government, and a treaty was soon after concluded on condition of his contributing twenty lacs of rupees in four instalments towards the expenses of the war. But this issue of the campaign did not cover the disgrace of our failure, the remembrance of which was perpetuated even in the remote districts of the Deccan by rude delineations of British soldiers hurled from the battlements of Bhurtpore. A.D. 1805

This pacification was hastened by the hostile attitude of Sindia. By the treaty of Sirjee Anjengaum, he had agreed to relinquish all claim on the rajas with whom Lord Wellesley had concluded treaties. But, when the list was presented to him four months after, he was exasperated to find the name of the rana of Gohud included in it, and also the fort of Gwalior. He scouted the idea of considering the rana, whose territories he had absorbed twenty years before, as an independent prince, or of making over to him the fortress of Gwalior, which he valued not merely for its strength, but as a personal gift from the emperor. General Wellesley affirmed that Sindia had subscribed the treaty with the distinct understanding that the fort and territory should remain with him, and it was in ignorance of this agreement that Lord Wellesley had resolved to consider Gohud as an independent principality. General Wellesley said, "that he would sacrifice "it, and every other frontier town ten times over, to "preserve our credit for good faith." Major Malcolm, the envoy at Sindia's court, was equally urgent, but Lord Wellesley, who was entirely in the wrong, imperiously persisted in his resolution, and Sindia was obliged to submit, but the loss continued to rankle in his bosom. Hostile attitude of Sindia.

The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson and the failure of the siege of Bhurtpore, produced a profound sensation throughout Hindostan. The victors of Assye had been chased by Holkar up to the walls of Agra. The captors of Gwalior had been baffled before a mud fort in the plains, and an impression was created that the Company's good fortune was on the wane. A hostile confederacy was secretly formed, which included Sindia, Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the raja of Bhurtpore; and Sindia ventured to attack our allies Confederacy against Government.

A.D. 1805 and to invade Saugor. At the instance of his minister, Sirjee Rao, the encampment of Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, was plundered, and he was placed under restraint. Sindia moreover assembled an army of 40,000 men, and moved on towards Bhurtpore, with the intention, he said, of negotiating a peace between the raja and the British Government. Lord Wellesley could not fail to feel acutely the insult which such a proposal implied, but he and his brother were anxious to avoid a rupture with Sindia at this time. The *morale* of the army was low, and the north-west frontier was defenceless. The Resident dissuaded Sindia from crossing the Chumbul towards Bhurtpore, assuring him that it would inevitably result in a war, and advised him to return to his own capital; but he said his funds were exhausted, and General Wellesley assured Lord Wellesley that he was really impoverished by his late losses, and under the advice of the General an advance of money was made to him from the treasury, on which he retraced his steps to Subulgurh.

Movements of the confederates.

He was joined soon after by Ameer Khan and Holkar, with about 3,000 of the cavalry which yet adhered to his standard. The confederates pressed Sindia for money, but his exchequer was exhausted, and he gave them permission to despoil his general, Ambajee Anglia, who had amassed two crores in his service, and Shirjee Rao, Sindia's father-in-law, extorted fifty lacs of rupees from him by torture. The atrocities of this miscreant constrained Sindia to discard him, and Ambajee having been appointed in his stead, broke up the alliance between his master and Holkar and Ameer Khan, and the path was thus opened for an accommodation with the British Government. Sindia had nothing to expect, but everything to lose, by a struggle with the Company, and he was sincerely desirous of the restoration of concord. Lord Wellesley was equally anxious for the re-establishment of a good understanding, that he might reduce the burdens of the state. He had determined to restore Gohud and Gwalior, as a matter of policy, and another month or six weeks would have brought about an amicable adjustment of all differences, and placed the tranquillity of India on a solid basis; but, on the 30th July he was superseded by the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and his whole scheme of policy was at once subverted.

Supersedure of Lord Wellesley. 1805

The administration of Lord Wellesley is the most

memorable in the annals of the Company. He found the empire beset with perils in every quarter; he bequeathed it to his successor in a state of complete security, with the prestige of our power higher than it had ever stood. He annihilated the French force at Hyderabad, demolished the kingdom of Mysore, and became master of the Deccan. He extinguished the more formidable battalions of French troops in the employ of Sindia, and turned his possessions in Hindostan into a British province. He paralysed beyond redemption the great Mahratta sovereigns; he doubled the territories and resources of the Company; he exhibited a special genius for creating and consolidating an empire, and he would rank as the greatest of the Governors-General if he had not been preceded by Warren Hastings and followed by Lord Dalhousie. He was resolved to quench those internecine contests among the princes of India which, for a century since the death of Aurungzebe, had turned its fairest provinces into a desert. He felt as his brother the Duke of Wellington, then General Wellesley, happily expressed it, 'that no permanent system of policy could be adopted to 'protect the weak against the strong, and to keep the 'princes for any length of time in their relative positions, 'and the whole body in peace, without the establishment 'of one power which, by the superiority of its strength 'and its military system and resources, should obtain a 'preponderating influence for the protection of all." The Company was to be this preponderating power, but the Company was still a commercial body, with an instinctive dread of military operations, which interrupted its investments and disturbed its balance-sheet. The mercantile spirit was still in the ascendant in Leadenhall-street, whereas Lord Wellesley maintained that "as long as the "Company represented the sovereign executive authority "in this vast empire, its duties of sovereignty must be "paramount to mercantile interests." These antagonistic views created a strong feeling of antipathy towards him at the India House. Parliament, moreover, had thought fit to interdict all increase of territory and all alliances with native princes without the sanction of the Court of Directors, and they hoped under the shadow of this injunction to continue at peace with the native princes, and to pursue their mercantile enterprises without any impediment. But, in defiance of this rule, Lord Wellesley had been engaged in wars from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej, had broken the power

A.D. 1805

Remarks on his administration.

A.D. 1805 of prince after prince, and loaded the Company with the responsibility of governing one half and controlling the other half of India. The vastness of his schemes, and the audacity of his aspirations, confounded them; and even his friend Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, regarded with a feeling of anxiety the vast extent of our dominion and our responsibilities. The announcement of the war with Holkar, however inevitable, filled up the measure of his delinquencies, and completed the dismay of the India authorities in Leadenhall-street and at the Board of Control; and it was resolved to supersede him, and "to bring back things to the state the legislature "had prescribed in 1792;" in other words, to put the political clock back a dozen years.

On the return of Lord Wellesley to England, an attempt was made to subject him to an impeachment. A Mr. Paull, originally a tailor, had gone out to India as an adventurer, and having amassed a fortune in the hot-house of corruption at Lucknow, obtained a seat in Parliament, and brought articles of charge against Lord Wellesley of high crimes and misdemeanours which were dropped on the dissolution; and Paull having failed to obtain a seat at the election, put a period to his life. Lord Folkstone subsequently renewed the charge, but the resolution of censure which he proposed was negatived by 182 to 31. On the other hand, the vindictive Court of Proprietors passed a vote of condemnation by 928 to 195. But thirty years later, when truth had triumphed over passion and prejudice, the Court of Directors took occasion, on the publication of his despatches, to assure him by a unanimous resolution, "that "in their judgment he had been animated throughout his "administration by an ardent zeal to promote the well-being of India, and to uphold the interest and "honour of the British empire; and that they "looked back to the eventful and brilliant period "of his administration with feelings common to their "countrymen." They voted him a grant of 20,000*l.* and ordered his statue to be placed in the India House as a recognition of his services.

Attempt at impeachment.

Applause of the Court of Directors.

CHAPTER IX.

SECTION I.

LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR G. BARLOW.

LORD CORNWALLIS was Mr. Pitt's invariable refuge in every Indian difficulty. When the Company's possessions were considered to be in danger from the proceedings of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis was sent out to restore their security. When again, in 1797, Sir John Shore's weakness had brought on the mutiny of the officers which threatened the dissolution of Government, he was entreated to go out, if only for a year; and now he was importuned a third time in 1805 to undertake the office of Governor-General, and save the empire from the ruin with which it was supposed to be threatened through Lord Wellesley's ambition. His constitution was exhausted by thirty years of labour in America, in India and in Ireland, but he would not refuse what he considered the call of duty, and he landed at Calcutta on the 30th June, with the finger of death visibly upon him. Within twenty-four hours Lord Wellesley had the mortification to learn that his whole system of policy was to be immediately demolished. Lord Cornwallis lost no time in announcing that it was his object to restore the native princes to a condition of "vigour, efficiency, and "independent interest," and to remove the impression of our design to establish British control over every Indian power. He was resolved, in fact, to steer the vessel of the state in 1805 by the ephemeris of 1793.

Lord Cornwallis's brief rule and death.

A.D. 1805

He immediately proceeded up the country by water; and on the 19th September sent a despatch to Lord Lake defining the policy he intended to pursue. He proposed to restore all Holkar's family domains when he manifested a reasonable disposition; to give up Gohud and Gwalior to Sindia, and even to waive the demand which had been made by Lord Wellesley

Lord Cornwallis's policy.

of the release of the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, whom Sindia detained in honourable bondage, if it was found to be an obstacle to a reconciliation with that chief; to abrogate the treaty with Jeypore; to remove the emperor and his family to some town near Calcutta, and to restore Delhi to the Mahrattas; to dissolve all the alliances concluded with the princes north of the Chumbul, and to compensate them for the loss of our protection from the territories we had acquired beyond the Jumna, which was to be our future boundary. Before this letter could reach Lord Lake, Lord Cornwallis was in his grave. It was dictated to his secretary at a time when he was in such a state of mental and physical debility, that it may be questioned whether he fully comprehended the scope and consequences of this abrupt and fundamental change of policy. He was put on shore at Ghazeepore, where he expired on the 5th October. He had not the genius of Hastings or of Lord Wellesley, and his merits as a Governor-General have been over-rated, but none of the rulers of British India have ever more richly earned the esteem and confidence of Europeans and natives by his sterling integrity, his straightforward and manly character, and the spirit of justice and moderation which regulated all his actions.

His death. A.D. 1805

Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, succeeded temporarily to the office of Governor-General. He had presided for many years over some of the most important offices in the state, in which he had acquired a rich fund of experience. He had been extolled for his official aptitude and ability by three successive Governors-General, and though the ministry had wisely resolved never again to place any local officer at the head of the Government, they had yielded to the recommendation of Lord Wellesley, and given him the reversion of the highest office. But Sir George was simply a first-rate civilian, eminently qualified for every subordinate department, but destitute of that patrician dignity and that elevation of mind which the management of the empire required. While he continued under the influence of Lord Wellesley's master spirit, he cordially adopted his large and comprehensive policy, and became so closely identified with it that he lost the prospect of succeeding him when that policy was discarded at the India House. This fact was communicated to him by Lord Cornwallis, and may not have been without its influence in converting him to the opposite line of policy, of which he now became

Sir G. Barlow and his policy.

the unflinching advocate. He hastened to inform Lord Lake that it was his intention to dissolve all our alliances with the native princes, to relinquish all right to interfere in their affairs, and to withdraw from all connection with any state beyond the Jumna. Lord Wellesley proposed to rest the security of our dominion on the establishment of general tranquillity under our supremacy. Sir George considered that our position would be equally secure if the native states were allowed to tear one another to pieces, and were thus deprived of all leisure to attack us. This despicable policy was aptly described by Mr. Metcalfe, subsequently Governor-General *ad interim*, as "disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace "without tranquillity." A.D. 1805.

Sindia was as anxious to avoid a second collision with the Government of Calcutta as the Governor-General himself, and an envoy was sent to the head-quarters of Lord Lake, then about to start in pursuit of Holkar. A treaty was concluded on the 25th December, 1805, by which Gohud and Gwalior were restored to him, and it was stipulated that the Chumbul should be the boundary of the two states, and that the British Government should enter into no treaties with the rajas of Oodypore, Joudpore, and other chiefs whom he claimed as his feudatories. Northern India swarmed with military adventurers, consisting of the fragments of the armies disbanded by Sindia and the raja of Nagpore, and of the irregulars whom our Government had dismissed; hence Holkar, notwithstanding his reverses, was able to collect a body of 12,000 horse and 3,000 foot, whom it was important to disperse. Lord Lake set off in pursuit of him at the head of his cavalry and light infantry, and a British army was, for the first time, conducted to the banks of the Sutlej by the general who had been the first to camp on the Jumna. On crossing the Sutlej Lord Lake was brought into communication with Runjeet Sing, the young chieftain of twenty-four, then employed in laying the foundation of a new kingdom in the Punjab; and on the banks of the Beyas (the ancient Hydaspes) concluded a treaty with him by which he engaged to afford no further assistance to Holkar, and to oblige him to evacuate the Punjab forthwith. Holkar, now a helpless fugitive, was pursued to the holy city of Umritsir, and sent an envoy humbly to sue for peace, which he was ready to accept on any terms. Peace with Sindia 1805.

Under the positive instructions of Sir George Barlow,

A.D. 1805 the draft of a treaty was presented to him which provided for his complete reinstatement in power, the restoration of all the territories which had belonged to his family, and the relinquishment of all interference with the chiefs whom he claimed as his dependents. He was required to relinquish all right to Rampoora, and all claim on Boondee, to entertain no Europeans in his service, to return to Hindostan by a prescribed route, and to abstain from injuring the territories of the Company or their allies. To Holkar, whose fortunes were now desperate, these proposals appeared like a godsend, but their incredible leniency convinced him that they could only be dictated by fear, and his envoy returned with a demand for eighteen additional districts in Hindostan, and liberty to levy contributions on Jeypore, both of which were peremptorily refused. Fresh difficulties were started by his envoys, till Lord Lake threatened to recommence the pursuit, when the ratified treaty was at once produced. But Sir George Barlow was displeased with the terms of the treaty both with Sindia and Holkar. He considered that to fix the Mahratta boundary on the banks of the Chumbul, might imply a pledge to protect the princes beyond it from their rapacity; and he therefore added declaratory articles withdrawing British protection from every state to the west of the Jumna. Rampoora was voluntarily surrendered to him, and he fired a royal salute on the occasion, declaring at the same time that "the English were great rascals, and never to be "trusted." The raja of Boondee had the strongest claims on the gratitude of the Company as a constant and faithful ally, and as having two years before afforded shelter and aid to Colonel Monson in his retreat, in spite of the menaces of Holkar. Lord Lake made a strenuous effort to save him, but Sir George was deaf to every remonstrance, and cancelled the article in the treaty which protected him from the rapacity and revenge of Holkar.

Disgraceful treaty with Holkar.

The course pursued toward Jeypore was yet more disgraceful. The raja was the first to accede to Lord Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances, but he wavered in his fidelity when Colonel Monson was flying before Holkar, and Lord Wellesley informed Lord Cornwallis that this defection had cancelled his claim to our alliance. In the following year Holkar entered his territories and claimed his assistance against the Company, but Lord Lake assured him that the boon of our protection

The raja of Jeypore.

would be restored to him if he resisted the advances of that chief, and in this hope he afforded cordial and efficient aid to our detachments proceeding in pursuit of him. Lord Cornwallis, who was the soul of honour, said that any promise Lord Lake had given to the raja should be held sacred. Sir George Barlow, however, refused to acknowledge any such obligation, and as Holkar entered the Jeypore territory, bent on plunder and revenge, informed him that the protection of Government was withdrawn for the breach of his engagement during Colonel Monson's retreat. Lord Lake, indignant at the contempt with which his expostulations were treated and the degradation of the national character, threw up all his political functions. A.D. 1806

Holkar was bound by the treaty to return to Hindostan by a prescribed route, and to abstain from all aggression on the territories of the Company or their allies. But to save the field allowances Sir George Barlow directed Lord Lake to hasten out of the Punjab; and Holkar no sooner found him across the Sutlej than he let loose his predatory bands on the districts of the Punjab; nor was there any article of the treaty which he did not violate with audacity. He halted for a month in the Jeypore territory, and, seeing the British support withdrawn from the raja, extorted eighteen lacs of rupees from him, and then marched down to wreak his vengeance on Boondee. This disastrous termination of the Mahratta war sowed the seeds of a more momentous contest. The wisdom of Lord Wellesley's policy was amply vindicated by the twelve years of anarchy which followed the subversion of it; while the adoption of a neutral policy and of a system of isolation fostered the growth of a new predatory power, which it eventually required an army of 100,000 men to extinguish. Aggression of Holkar.

It was not long before the evils of this policy of non-interference became visible. The rana of Oodypore was regarded as the "sun of Hindoo glory," and an alliance with his family as the summit of social distinction. The beautiful daughter of the reigning prince had been betrothed to the raja of Joudpore, and on his premature death was claimed by his successor; but her hand was given to the raja of Jeypore. The rivals appealed to arms, and 100,000 men, consisting not only of Rajpoots, but of Sindia's Mahrattas and Ameer Khan's Patans, were brought into the field. In February 1807 the raja of Joudpore sustained a crushing defeat, but soon Desolation of Rajpootana.

A.D. after succeeded in detaching Ameer Khan from his ally,
1807 the raja of Jeypore, by the promise of half a crore of rupees, and the plains of Jeypore were laid waste by him. The rana of Oodypore, who had taken no part in the war of which his daughter was the innocent cause, was notwithstanding subjected to plunder by Sindia and Ameer Khan, and in his extremity supplicated the Governor-General for protection, offering to make over half his territories for the defence of the remainder. Rajpootana was bleeding at every pore, and its princes, the rajas of Joudpore and Jeypore, the rana of Oodypore as well as Zalim Sing, the renowned regent of Kotah, invoked the aid of British authority, and represented that there had always been in
1807 India some supreme power to which the weak looked for protection from the ambition and rapacity of the powerful. The Company, they said, had now succeeded to this position, and were bound to fulfil the responsibilities attached to it. The Mahrattas and the Patans, who were now spreading desolation through the country, could offer no resistance to the British arms, and the Governor-General had only to speak the word, and peace and tranquillity would be restored. But any such interference was contrary to the prevailing policy of the India House; the request of the rana of Oodypore was refused, and he was obliged to come to a compromise with Ameer Khan and assign him a fourth of his dominions to preserve the rest from rapine, and likewise to submit to the indignity of exchanging turbans with the Patan freebooter.

The great blot in Sir George Barlow's administration was the abandonment of Rajpootana, but he earned no
Hyderabad. little credit for the resolution with which he maintained the peace of the Deccan. Meer Alum, the able minister of the Nizam, had become obnoxious to his master by his steady support of the British alliance, and was obliged to take refuge at the Residency to escape assassination. The Nizam then proceeded to open negotiations with Sindia and Ameer Khan, and to assemble troops with the undisguised intention of dissolving all connection with the Company's Government. Sir George
1806 Barlow "felt that the dissolution of the alliance would "subvert the very foundation of British power and ascend-"ency in the political scale in India. The position we "abandoned at Hyderabad would be immediately occupied "by our enemies, and the result would be universal "turbulence and distrust." On this occasion therefore he

did not hesitate to discard the principle of neutrality, and to order the Nizam to restore Meer Alum to his post, and submit to a more direct interference of the Resident in the management of his affairs. Equally meritorious were his proceedings at Poona. The Court of Directors considered the treaty of Bassein the source of multiplied embarrassments, and were desirous of withdrawing from Mahratta politics, and allowing the Peshwa to resume his position as the head of the Mahratta commonwealth. Sir George resisted with energy every effort to modify the treaty, and had the courage to state to his masters that, while he desired to manifest every attention to their wishes, there was a higher obligation imposed on him, that of maintaining the supremacy of British rule, which would be compromised by any deviation from the policy established by Lord Wellesley at Poona. A.D. 1806 The Peshwa.

The state of the finances demanded the early attention of Sir George. The pecuniary difficulties of the Company had always arisen from the wars in which they had been involved. There was no elasticity in a revenue derived almost exclusively from the land, and any extraordinary demand on the treasury could only be met by having recourse to loans. With the return of peace and the alleviation of the military pressure, the finances, with one exception, had recovered their spring. The extensive military operations of Lord Wellesley had augmented the public debt and brought on one of the intermittent fevers of alarm at the India House. It was overlooked that our wars in India had generally terminated in an accession of territory and revenue which speedily overbalanced the encumbrance they had entailed. Thus, in Lord Wellesley's administration the increase of the debt amounted to about eight crores and a half of rupees, and the permanent increase of revenue to about seven crores. By the cessation of war and the reduction of the regiments of irregulars, the deficit which had appalled Leadenhall-street was converted into a surplus, which, with little fluctuation, remained steady for twenty years. The finances.

In the month of July the Government was astounded by the massacre of European officers and soldiers by the native sepoys in the fort of Vellore. It was situated eighty-eight miles west of Madras, and only forty from the frontier of Mysore, had been selected, contrary to the wise judgment of the Court of Directors, for the residence of Tippoo's family, and it was speedily filled 1806 The Vellore mutiny.

A.D. 1806 with 1,800 of their adherents and 3,000 emigrants from Mysore. The European troops in the garrison consisted of about 370 men, and the sepoys numbered about 1,500, many of whom were Mahomedans who had been in the service of Tippoo. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 10th July the sepoys suddenly assaulted the European barracks, and poured in volley after volley through the venetian blinds, till eighty of the soldiers had been killed and ninety-one wounded. They then proceeded to the residence of the officers, of whom thirteen fell victims to their treachery. During the massacre an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace of the Mysore princes, many of whose followers were conspicuous in the scene. Provisions were also sent out to the sepoys, and the royal ensign of Mysore was hoisted amidst the shouts of the crowd. The remaining Europeans held their position till they were rescued by the gallantry of Colonel Gillespie, who was in garrison at Arcot, eight miles distant, and who, on hearing of the outbreak, started without a moment's delay with a portion of the 19th Dragoons and his galloper guns, and arrived in time to rescue the survivors.

Cause of the mutiny.

The searching investigation which was made revealed the cause of the mutiny. The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir John Cradock, soon after his arrival obtained permission of the governor, Lord William Bentinck, to codify the military regulations, but upon the express condition that no rules should be added without the permission of Government. Unknown to the governor, the adjutant-general took on himself to introduce several innovations which interfered with the religious prejudices of the sepoys. But that which gave them peculiar offence was the new form prescribed for the turban, which bore some resemblance to a European hat, an object of general antipathy to the natives. A report was industriously spread through their ranks by the Mahomedans, who led the hostile movement, that the new turban was the precursor of an attempt to force them to become Christians; and the panic-stricken and exasperated sepoys were thus stirred up to mutiny and massacre. The Court of Directors were overwhelmed by the news of this catastrophe, and in that wild and vindictive spirit which terror inspires, instantly recalled the governor and the Commander-in-Chief before a single line of explanation had been received from either. Lord William Bentinck remonstrated against